

# THE ETHNO-LINGUISTIC CHARACTER OF NORTHWESTERN IRAN AND KURDISTAN IN THE NEO-ASSYRIAN PERIOD

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## INTRODUCTION

(see in general Grantovskiy 1998, 17–37; 123ff.)<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this article is to establish the ethno-linguistic character of that part of Iran which is delimited in the east by Dasht-i Kavir and the Elburz range, in the north by the Araxes river (the border of Iran with the republic of Azerbaijan) and the Kara-su river, in the west by a hypothetical line west of Lake Urmia including the Hakkari mountains and most of Iraqi Kurdistan and the piedmont of the Zagros. In the south, it includes Luristan down to the hypothetical border of Elam. The chronological framework is between c. 1000 and c. 600 B.C. This is dictated by the documentation. The only document datable before the end of the tenth century B.C. originates from Bit-Abdadani (below, 4.7) and is early Neo-Babylonian. The later documentation is almost exclusively Neo-Assyrian, mostly royal inscriptions, letters and queries to the Sun-god. This documentation starts with Tukulti-Ninurta II, i.e. from c. 890 B.C. (cf. below, 3.7.1.2, 1) and ends with Ashurbanipal. Pertinent Urartian sources are available from the end of the ninth century and the first two-thirds of the eighth century B.C. Their information is confined to the northwestern sections of the territory under discussion here. In addition, a single Aramaic inscription has recently been discovered at Bukan on Mannean territory. Regarding periodisation, the most sensible sub-periods are:

(1) c. 1000–745 B.C., i.e. before Tiglath-pileser III, when several campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II were directed against regions of Kurdistan and eastern Urartu. Shalmaneser III and his two successors conducted the first Assyrian campaigns deep into northwestern Iran (Mannea, Parsua and Gizilb'punda). The first Assyrian province on Iranian soil, Zamua, was established sometime before 810 B.C. There was also an intensive Urartian involvement in that part of Iran then. (2) 744–705 B.C., the reigns of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II (no pertinent activities are recorded in

Shalmaneser V's short reign). These great conquerors conducted a series of intensive campaigns in northwestern Iran resulting in a deeper penetration than that of Shalmaneser III and his immediate successors. Tiglath-pileser III established the provinces of Parsua and Bit-Hamban, whereas Kîfêsi(m) and Harhar were incorporated into the Assyrian system of provinces by Sargon II. (3) 704–600 B.C. The activities of Sennacherib were confined to parts of Kurdistan. The long Assyrian rule must have been the main reason for the secondary state formation of Media (see Brown 1986, 1987–90, 1988), which started in his time and seems to have culminated in the reign of his successor, Esarhaddon. It was also triggered by the Cimmerian and Scythian invasions of Media. There is evidence of Mannean expansion in the periphery of the Assyrian province of Zamua at that time. The attempts of Esarhaddon to penetrate as far as the Salt Desert and Patišuarra did not stop the consolidation of Media. As a result, Ashurbanipal's activities in northwestern Iran were confined almost exclusively to Mannea, Assyria's closest neighbour in northwestern Media. Eventually, the latter might have become an ally of Assyria against the Medes and their allies in the last generation of the Assyrian empire, presumably because the Mannaeans did not want to be absorbed by the emerging Median state.

The pertinent documentation is insufficient. Non-written (i.e. archaeological) material is not considered below, since material culture generally does not provide unambiguous evidence for the ethno-linguistic identification of its bearers. The reconstruction of the ethno-linguistic character of the territory under discussion is based mainly on the indirect evidence, which is entirely prosopographic-onomastic consisting of a sample of 221 individuals and 475 toponyms (including 14 individuals with damaged and irrelevant anthroponyms and 28 damaged toponyms; these 42 damaged and uncertain names are not included in the statistics below). Toponymy is of a much inferior value



for ethno-linguistic classification, since it inevitably preserves a certain amount of fossilised substratum forms (cf. the pessimistic reflections on the NA toponymy from Iran by Speiser 1930, 169), but in our case a considerable number of toponyms are "dynamic", i.e. originally anthroponyms. (Old Iranian, Kassite, Hurro-Urartian and others). In this case there is good reason to think that many of them are basically temporary and productive rather than fossils. Toponyms, which are recorded in more than one period, are counted only once — in the period of their earliest occurrence. Divine names and appellatives are very rare (perhaps *Bagabartu* and possibly *aspastu*).<sup>2</sup> No more than 58 individuals are documented between 1000 and 745 B.C. The best-documented period is 744–705 B.C. with at least 134 individuals. The last period (704–600 B.C.) is poorly documented, with only 26 individuals. This is in accord with the intensity of Assyrian involvement in Iran (cf. above). The documentation from all the periods is of an uneven geographical distribution. The best-documented regions are Mannea and Ellipi. Both are the first political entities in Greater Media covering a considerable territory, while the other Median entities were just chiefdoms ruled by "city lords" (sg. *bēl-dā*) in NA; the hypothetical Old Iranian source of this designation is not known, cf. below, 4.4).<sup>3</sup>

Mannea and Ellipi were in a way precursors (but hardly nuclei) of the Median secondary state formation. The material from Zamua (13+16+3), the upper Diyala basin and adjacent regions, as well as from Nairi/Parsua (28) is considerable, but it refers to numerous tribal entities. It should be pointed out that the available material seems to be sufficient only for determining the ethno-linguistic character of the territory under discussion, but not its ethno-linguistic composition: for such a task the material is too scanty. The methodological problems involved with the utilisation of purely onomastic material for ethno-linguistic characterisation are dealt with by Zadok 1997d, 214. They seem to be less complicated in northwestern Iran and Kurdistan since here, only rarely, do we encounter deportees, and the material consists almost exclusively of individuals of the highest echelons. Nevertheless, the samples from certain regions are not negligible (regions with number of individuals in brackets in descending order):

7 (49), 6 (33), 2 (29), 1 (27), 8 (27), 4 (20), 3 (15), 5 (8).

The main problem, which is posed by the analysis of the material, is the extent of the preservation of the pre-(Indo-)Iranian substratum among the local population in

view of the advancing (Indo-)Iranianisation of the territory under discussion. This substratum is heterogeneous and varies from region to region. Much of it belongs to entirely unknown dialects. Only a minority can be identified, with various degrees of plausibility, with recorded languages, like Hurro-Urartian and Elamite. Another segment is identical or related to the onomasticon of the Kassites. Although the relevant rubric below (e.g., 1.13, c) is for the sake of convenience called "Kassite", what I actually mean are "names of Kassites". It should be remembered that not a single Kassite text has come down to us. All we have are a few appellatives contained in lexical lists. At the very end of the "documentary hierarchy" are the two most ancient groups of the territory under discussion, viz. the Qutians and Lullubians. The former is used as an anachronistic designation for highlanders in the first millennium B.C. (cf. e.g., Tadmor 1994, 67 ad Ann. 13, 8). The Šurgadians are characterised as "Qutians" by Sargon II (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 34), just as the Manneans and the inhabitants of southern Bit-Sangubiti are described as "Qutians" by Esarhaddon and Tiglath-pileser III respectively. Harhar(a) was (at least in one version) the eponymous ancestor of the "Gutian dynasty" (Hallo 1957–71, 711, compares Karahar). It seems that in all cases the Assyrian usage of this anachronistic designation is conditioned by their geographical position, but at least twice the term is applied to the Urartians and their neighbours as well (Grayson 1996, 104; Shalm. III A.O.102.28, 41; 233; Adad-narāri III A 104.2010, 11f.). <sup>[a]</sup>*Gu-tu-iti*, the warriors of the mountains, may refer to the people of Sunbu, Hubuškia, Allab/pria/(Paddira) and Namri, who precede them (in a broken context, A.O.102.1002, 3'ff.; the attribution of this inscription to Shalmaneser III by Grayson 1996, 172f. is tentative, cf. below, 8.8; *Qutium* is spelled with *Gu-* also in the above-mentioned inscription of Adad-narāri III).<sup>4</sup> As for the Lullubians, it is not even clear whether they have ever formed a distinct ethno-linguistic group. The ascription of any corpus to a distinctive "Lullubian" group is doubtful (cf. Astour 1987, 29, n. 189; 37f. with n. 259). The treatment of the "Lullubian" onomasticon by Speiser (1930, 91f.) is necessarily tentative and overly optimistic. In fact, there are hardly any discernible name-components in this restricted corpus. Moreover, there seems to be a late and secondary geographical extension of Lullubum (see Klengel 1987–90, 166f.) and there is no definite delimitation between Qutium

and Lullubum. Qutium seems to overlap Lullubum to some extent: Mt. Nimuš is located in Qutium according to a *lipsur* litany (Reiner 1956, 134.41), but this is a relatively late literary source. On the whole, a clear-cut differentiation of the considerable linguistically unaffiliated onomasticon cannot be attained as a specific ascription to the languages of the autochthones.<sup>5</sup> On the descriptive level, one can at best separate between names which have homonyms or parallels in other regions (notably toponymic interregional duplicates) and entirely isolated anthroponyms and toponyms. In such circumstances, suffice it to point out (and eventually quantify wherever applicable) the percentage of Old Iranian names compared with the pre-Iranian ones. The comparable material comes partly from the earlier sites in the region or near it, such as OB Šušarrā and MB Nuzi. For practical reasons we use, in addition to purely linguistic criteria, also non-linguistic ones in our classification below, such as pre-first millennium names (direct evidence), toponyms which are homonymous with pre-first millennium ones or comparable with them. The existence (or rather persistence?) of several discernible name-elements (such as *kingi*, *ka/ini* and *-aš*), which are peculiar and intrinsic to the region under discussion, enhances a somewhat more nuanced treatment of the unaffiliated material. In addition, one has always to bear in mind the practices and conventions of the Akkadian scribes, and to reckon with folk etymologies and generations-old Mesopotamian designations of indigenous locales on the Iranian plateau. A glimpse at the practices of the Akkadian scribe is offered by the case of the 25 regions whose names start in *Bit-*. On the face of it, they can be classified as hybrid toponyms (all genitive compounds from the syntactic point of view) consisting of a Semitic initial component (*Bit-*, i.e. "house; temple; place; domain; tribal territory, region") as *nomen regens*, followed by a non-Semitic name (mostly an anthroponym)<sup>6</sup> as *nomen rectum* (mostly Kassite and Iranian).<sup>7</sup> However, an examination of the best-documented cases reveals that they are purely non-Semitic to begin with. The forms with *Bit-* are used only by the Assyrian scribes. Therefore they are not classified below as hybrid. *Bit-* of *Bit-Abdadani* is secondary in view of the earliest forms *Ab-da-da-ni* and *Eg. ptn* (4.7). The same applies to *Bit-Barria* if it is the same region as Urart. *Ba-ru-a-ta*, see below, 7.10.2. There is good reason for thinking that *Bit-Barria* was named after a recorded dynast, but the case of *Bit-*

Abdadani is different: it seems that it was artificially adjusted to the "system" of tribal territories by adding *Bit-* to an existing name, analogous to the case of *Bit-Zamāni* (recorded as early as the thirteenth century B.C., Nashef 1982, 74; see Zadok 1985c, 83). Likewise, 3.3, 18 below is not a genuine hybrid.

On the whole, there is an intensive interaction between anthroponymy and toponymy. No less than thirty toponyms contain anthroponyms (with various degrees of plausibility most of those starting with *Bit-*, cf. below, 11) or originate from anthroponyms (without modification: 6.7.6; 6.9.3.1; 7.2.1, 1 7.15.8 and perhaps 1.1.1, 6; 2.1.4; 2.3.5; 2.3.14; 3.1.1, 1; 3.7.2, 3; 4.7.1; 6.9.1.4; 6.9.4.2; 7.11; 8.9.6.1, 12). There may be at least one case of re-interpretation of a basically Iranian anthroponym by the Akkadian scribes (see below, 4.12.a *ad* 4.4, 3 and cf. 5.5.2, 1).

A brief sketch of the history of research is in place here. Many names were etymologised as early as the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century by Justi, Hüsing, Scheffelowitz and Herzfeld, but the first synthesis in the form of a special monograph was written by Diakonoff (1956a). This was followed by another monograph which is entirely devoted to the onomasticon (Grantovskiy 1970). The latter, whose analysis is very thorough and generally reliable, is not free of a certain "pan-Iranian" bias and his etymological solutions are sometimes too optimistic (see Diakonoff 1970, 111, n. 37). Much progress has been made in Hurrian and Kassite onomastics, a large amount of new material has been published and many texts have recently been re-edited (by Parpola, Grayson, Borger, Frahm and, above all, Fuchs) so that time is ripe for a work utilising the full range of available material. Grantovskiy's comprehensive treatment is now the subject of a thorough and systematic critical examination resulting in a sound updating by Schmitt in Parpola, Radner and Whiting 1998. This relieves me of a detailed treatment of most of the Iranian anthroponyms. The final trigger for writing this article is the incorrect statement of Radner (1999, 198) that Median is not an Indo-European language. In the following pages it will be demonstrated that the long-established classification of Median as an Iranian dialect (see, e.g., Schmitt 1987–90) has — despite the lack of Median texts — an adequate linguistic documentation (almost exclusively onomastic).<sup>8</sup> This is not to belittle the massive contribution of Radner to Neo-Assyrian studies, including Assyro-Median relations.



# 1. MANNEA AND ADJACENT REGIONS (see Arutyunyan 1985, s.v.v.; Salvini 1998)

Zig/k/qirtu and Andia were basically independent (see Vera Chamaza 1994, 115f., but cf. Fuchs 1994, 447ff.) and Allabpria belonged only temporarily to Mannea. According to Diakonoff (1985a, 72f.), who does not elaborate, Tauria, Dalaya, Subi (Tabriz region) and Sumbi also belonged to Mannea, but this is very uncertain.

## 1.1. Mannea "proper"

### 1.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy (see Boehmer 1964, 15ff.; Kashkai 1976)

The ending of NA <sup>10</sup>Ma/Man-na/nu-A+A, <sup>10</sup>Ma-an-na-A+A, Man-A+A (Parpola 1970, 236f.; > OT *Mn*, cf. Postgate, 1987–90, 340a) is to *Mannea* (Uratian *Manā*, Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 53f.) like that of NA *Ma-da-A+A* (etc.; > Aram. *md*) is to *Māda*; the ending is adjusted to the NA and Aramaic gentilic suffix. The earlier forms, viz. *Mu-in-na* (Grayson 1996, 54; Shalm. III, A.0.10.2.10, iii, 34; 213; Adad-nāriri III, A.0.104.8, 8) and <sup>10</sup>Man-an-ās (829 B.C., Grayson 1996, 83; A.0.102.16, 307), are still without this ending.<sup>9</sup>

The location of 1. <sup>10</sup>Zi-ir-ta (Grayson 1996, 70; A.0.102.14, 166; 828 or 827 B.C.), <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-tu (Fuchs 1994, 439), <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ta (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 204 r. 6), the permanent capital of Mannea, is unknown (cf. Levine 1980). Its identity with Aram. *Ztr*, a seat of the god Haldi at the end of the eighth century B.C. (Hldy *zy* bZHal-di-a, e.g. Thureau-Dangin 1912, 368)<sup>10</sup> cult was Mušayir, which is fairly close to the Bukan region, and its environs as far as the northeastern section of Assyria proper. The possibility that Esarhaddon planned to send a messenger together with an Aramean scribe (<sup>10</sup>BA.AB.AA.A+A) to Mannea may be gleaned from Starr 1990, 58, r. 10, 2. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-tu (Fuchs 1994, 429); <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-tu (Piekorn 1933, Prism B, iii, 47; cf. Borger 1996, 34), modern *Zivya* (see Godard 1950, 5; Adamec 1976, map I-20-D) has "Ziviyah" which is very probably for *Zivya*; 3. <sup>10</sup>Ar-me-et-ta), *Ar-me-et*, *U-ir-me-et* (or *IA*-te) in central Mannea (Fuchs 1994, 424; Borger 1996, 34), 4. <sup>10</sup>Sa-an-ha, is mentioned together with 5. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-tu (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 217, 5f.). The latter is identical to <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-

*ši-a* (Millard 1994, 34f.; 798 B.C.; following a campaign to Mannea in 799 and preceding a campaign to Namri in 797 B.C.).<sup>12</sup> Both might have been located not far from the border, perhaps near the Assyrian province of Zamua.

More locales of Mannea are recorded in Piekorn 1933, B, iii, 45ff. (cf. Borger 1996, 34f.; 2 above and 1.1.1.1, 1 below are included as well) from Ashurbanipal's time: 6. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-tu (or *Te-ra-a-na* (47; cf. Parpola 1970, 55f.), 7. <sup>10</sup>Ar-si-ia-ni-š (58; between 8. <sup>10</sup>A-a-qa-ia-ni [63] and Harsi?), 9. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-ia-na (71), 10. <sup>10</sup>Bi-ir-ti-ir-ti-a (72; is it a variant of 8.8, 4 below?), 11. <sup>10</sup>Gus-i-su-né-e, 7, 8 are to be sought in southwest Mannea near the border of the adjacent Assyrian province. The same may apply to 9–11, 12. <sup>10</sup>A-a-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, 13. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (-dan-na-su, 14. <sup>10</sup>Pa(-?)-š(-...-n) a-su, 15. <sup>10</sup>Bi-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (below, 2.1.4), which belonged to Mannea in the middle of the seventh century B.C., is followed by 15. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š. The latter is followed by 16. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, 17. <sup>10</sup>Ar-pi-ir-ti-š, 18. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, and 19. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š. The royal city 20. *Ši-me-ri* (*Ha-di-ri*) was explicitly situated in Mannea according to an Urartian inscription (a compound name? see Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 25, 81). <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š alternatively belonged to B/Pušt (below, 2.1.4, 1).

### 1.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy (1, 2, 4–8 rulers; see Boehmer 1964, 14)

1. *U-da-ki* (829 B.C., Grayson 1996, 70; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 164f.; Orlan.; 2. *Ir-an-si-zu*, *Ir-an-si* (last third of the eighth century B.C.; see e.g., Tadmor 1994, 98 ad St. I, B, 15); 3. *Urat. A-ka-ia* (atyp.), deputy of Mannea, time of Rusa II (c. 730–714 B.C., Melikšvili 1971a, 231f.; 286, 3); 4. *A-a-a*, 719–716 B.C. (Orlan/atyp., see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b) s. of Ir-an-zu (or *Ir-an-si*) (see Fuchs 1994, 416); 6. *Ab-se-e-ri* (NB), *Ab-se-e-ri*, *Ab-se-e-ri*, *Ab-se-e-ri* (Hurt? see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a), time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal; 7. *U(-a)-al-li (-i)* s. of Ahšeri in Ashurbanipal's time (Piekorn 1933, B, 54, iii, 86; *U-li* is perhaps defective, cf. Borger 1996, 35), 8. *E-l-ri-si-im*, *E-ri-si-ia-ni* s. of 7 (Borger 1996, 36) is very probably Hurrian. 9. Belihabu might have been a Mannean ruler according to Diakonoff 1985a, 102 (without a transliteration and with a wrong reference!). Very few commoners' names are mentioned in the sources:

10. *In-si-zab-p-ri* (Mannean city lord? I-zir-te is mentioned in the same letter; Sargon II's time, Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 204, 11), 11. *Abat-šarri-*

*ušur*, a Mannean emissary, is mentioned then (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 171 r. 4, see Parker 1998a). 12. *Ri-pa* <sup>10</sup>Man-na-A+A' (634 B.C., cf. Zadok apud Radner 1999, 204 ad 64, 7; Ri-pi). 13. *Gi-ki-i*, a Mannean interpreter (*targumani*, undated, Fales and Postgate 1995, 31, 6, see Lapinkivi [and Schmitt] 1998), atyp.

The Mannean *Zi-ba-ma-ga* is recorded in Sippar on 15.11. 527/6 B.C., according to MAH 16452 (I should like to thank the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire and Dr. J. Chamay, Geneva, for permission to quote this tablet; for Manneans in the Achaemenid period see Zadok 1979b, 171f.).

## 1.2. On the Mannean-Urartian border (in northwestern Mannea; for 1–7 see Fuchs 1994, s.v.v.)

1. <sup>10</sup>Suk/Su-u-ki-a (gent. *Su-uk-ka-A+A*, perhaps = *Zu-uk-ka-A+A*).<sup>13</sup> 2. <sup>10</sup>Ba-a-la (gent. *Ba-a-la-A+A*), 3. <sup>10</sup>Ma-bi-ti-ik-na (gent. *Ma-bi-ti-ik-na-A+A*), 4. <sup>10</sup>Pa-a/ap-pa (atyp.) is juxtaposed with 5. <sup>10</sup>La-lu-uk-mi-ni (gent. *La-lu-uk-na-A+A*, both bordering on Kakkē), 6. <sup>10</sup>Ma-al-la-a-i, <sup>10</sup>Ma-al-la-i (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 172) was a mountain between Mannea and Urartu with the fortress of 7. <sup>10</sup>Uš-qa-ia (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 167; Urart. *Uš-ka-ia-ia*, Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 13f.), near the entrance to 8. <sup>10</sup>Za-ra-an-da. 9. *Da-ar-ba(-né)*, Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 25), 10. <sup>10</sup>Su-š-i-bi was named *Man-na-A+A* by the Urartians (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 169, 172).

## 1.3. *Wisdiš*

<sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 91), Urart. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 92f.), might have been situated north of Maragheh (see Diakonoff 1985a, 80).

### 1.3.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, 2. <sup>10</sup>Zi-mur (near <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 145; cf. Fuchs 1994, 470f.).

### 1.3.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Ba-ag-da-at-ti* (Orlan.), governor of Wisdiš, 717 or 716 B.C. (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998).

## 1.4. Regions (1–4, 6) and settlements (5, 7–9) situated south of Lake Urmia

It is not explicitly stated that these locales, which are recorded to Urartian inscriptions (numbers in brackets refer to Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979), belonged to Mannea. Alternatively, they might have been situated on former Kilzanean territory (cf. below, 3.2).

1. <sup>10</sup>A-la-je (a mountainous region), 2. <sup>10</sup>Ar-tar-mu-... (12); 3. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti (95), 4. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (87), 5. <sup>10</sup>U-ba-a-ru-Gi-il-du (92; attribution doubtful), 6. <sup>10</sup>Ku/IL/lu-...-ru-pi-ra (116), 7. <sup>10</sup>Er-ir-ka-i-né (32; 3–7 are mentioned in the same source), 8. <sup>10</sup>Me/Me-na-ap-šit-né, 56) and 9. <sup>10</sup>Du-qa-ma-a (27; 8, 9 are mentioned in the same source).

## 1.5. Zig/k/qirtu

### 1.5.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>10</sup>Zi-g/k/qir-te/tu/ti, gent. <sup>10</sup>Zi-g/k/qir-ta-A+A, <sup>10</sup>Zi-gir-ta-A+A (see Fuchs 1994, 471 and below, 17; cf. <sup>10</sup>Zi-ki/qir-ra-A+A, <sup>10</sup>Zi-ki-qir-ir-...-ti-a, Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 164, 6 and 15 resp.) is thought to be identical with later *Aysagarta* (see Herzfeld 1938, 171; Grantovskiy 1970, 272; the CVC signs *G/K/QIR*, *GIR* are indifferent to vowel quality).

1. <sup>10</sup>Pa-ar-da (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 84; Fuchs 1994, 453) was the capital of Zig/k/qirtu, 2. *Is-ls-tar-a-i*-ra-a flowed between <sup>10</sup>Pa-an-z-i-š and the district of 3. <sup>10</sup>A-i-ka-né-e (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 79; the identification with *Uğjan* by Herzfeld 1938, 174 is due to association; in addition, *Uğjan* is located too much to the north), Boehmer (1964, 18 with n. 43) cautiously suggests that 4. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š (a mountain) might be the local name of Uauš, but this is due to association, 5. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, 6. <sup>10</sup>Sak-ta-tu-š, 7. <sup>10</sup>Na-an-zu, 8. <sup>10</sup>Ma-ba-ni, 9. <sup>10</sup>Gur-ru-si-pa (the identification with *Garris* by Herzfeld 1938, 174 is due to association), 10. <sup>10</sup>Ra-ak-si (87; Orlan.), 11. <sup>10</sup>Gim-da-ak-rik-ka, 12. <sup>10</sup>Bo-ru-nak-ka, 13. <sup>10</sup>U-ba-ha-ra, 14. <sup>10</sup>St-te-ra, 15. <sup>10</sup>U-ir-ti-ir-ti-š, 16. <sup>10</sup>Te-sa-am-mi-a (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 88); 12 (actually 13, but 12 is a stereotypical number, cf. just below) walled cities with 84 unnamed villages in their vicinity (12x7, a stereotypical "topological" number like the seven settlements situated at the foot of Mt Ubiandi in Amariil according to Thureau-Dangin 1912, 270–72).<sup>14</sup> 17. <sup>10</sup>Pa-š-š-š-š-š, where the Zig/k/qirtu ruler, <sup>10</sup>Zi-gir-ta-A+A) suggested to supply horses, was



presumably in Zig/k/qirtu or near it (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 169, 11 and 4, 6 [Zi-], 9 resp.).

### 1.5.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Mi-ta-at-ti*, *Mi-ta-at-ti* the Zig/k/qirtu (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 141; *Me-ta-at- $\ll$ ta- $\gg$ ti*, 80; Hurr.?, 714 B.C.; 2. *Al-da-ku-pa*, the envoy (<sup>10</sup>MAH) of the Zig/k/qirtu ruler (<sup>10</sup>Zi-ki/qi-ri-ta-A+A, undated, Schwemer 1998).

### 1.6. Andia

#### 1.6.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. <sup>10</sup>*An-di-ú* (Grayson 1996, 213; Adad-nārāri III A.O.104.8, 9), *An-di-a* (Parpola 1970, 19 with refs.) is thought to be a region of Mannea (cf. Fuchs 1994, 421). It is noteworthy that the crown prince of Andia was accompanied by a Mannean emissary (see below, 1.6.2, 2). 2. <sup>10</sup>*Tu-a-i-a-di* is a region of Andia (Fuchs 1994, 465). The location of Mt. *BāD-hu* (Grayson 1996, 213; Adad-nārāri III A.O.104.8, 10) and its relationship (if any) to Andia are unknown.<sup>15</sup>

#### 1.6.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Tu-še-u-si-na* (716–715 B.C.) ruler of Andiya and Mannean governor (see Fuchs 1994, 415; poss. Hurr.-Urant; 2. *la-la-[x]*, the crown prince of Andia (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 171, 1), was accompanied by a Mannean emissary. For a commoner named *An-di-A*, i.e. "Andian", in the Ninevite documentation (682/1 B.C.) see Zadok 1994b, 49b.

### 1.7. Missi

#### 1.7.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>10</sup>*Mi-ti-si* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 51; also <sup>10</sup>*Mi-ti-si*, *Mi-ti*, see presently) is probably the same place as Urart. *Mēšā* (-ta) is extant in Urartian toponymy, see Aratyan 1985, 138f., 142f.<sup>16</sup> It is hesitatingly identified with either modern Tash tepe (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 57; Diakonoff 1985a, 69, cf. Herzfeld 1938, 164f.; near Tash Tepe) or Hasanlu (Salvini 1982, 390f.; 1983, 225f., claiming that *Mēšā*/Hasanlu was part of Urart. *Par-šū-a*, i.e. Parsua, not Mannea).<sup>17</sup> However, subsequently the former identification has

been rejected (without reason) by Diakonoff (1985a, 69, n. 1),<sup>18</sup> who followed Levine (1974, 111). The latter rejected the identification of Missi with *Mēšā* because of his localisation of Parsua in the northern Mahidašt. Nevertheless, there are two weak points in Levine's argumentation:

1. Levine's southerly location of Missi is based on the identification of Missi with <sup>10</sup>*Me-su* (Levine 1974, 114 with n. 114, following Melikšvili 1949, 58f., n. 5 and Diakonoff 1956a, 158; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 142; Kashkai 1977, 46). As stated by Fuchs (1994, 451), <sup>10</sup>*Me-su* must be differentiated from the region of Missi. *Mes* refers to a town situated between Aziru and Simaki in western Zamua (Grayson 1991, 205ff.; Ashurbanipal II A.O.101.1, ii, 52f., 82f.; 246: A.O.101.17, iii, 34, 36; see Liverani 1992, 55 with previous lit.; 8.9.2.1 below).<sup>19</sup> It should be remembered that Mannea reached certain points on the border of eastern Zamua in the period of its maximum southwestern expansion (the first half of the seventh century B.C., cf. below, 1.11.1), but it never controlled western Zamua. Moreover, Fuchs (1994, 451) argues that Missi was the easternmost region of Mannea.

2. Levine (1974, 116) states that "the [Urartian] inscription indicates that Tash-Tepe was Mannean, or rather it was Urartian-controlled Mannean territory". In both *Samsi-Adad V* and *Adad-nārāri III* Missi (gent. *Mi-sa-A+A*) occurs only in summary inscriptions.

1. <sup>10</sup>*Šu-an-da-hu-ul*, <sup>10</sup>*Šu-un-da-hu-ul* (Levine 1972, 34, ii, 13) — probably in Missi (see Fuchs 1994, 460). 2. <sup>10</sup>*Pa-an-zi-i-š* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 76, 79), <sup>10</sup>*Pa-i-za-š* (see Fuchs 1994, 454), fortress in Missi near Andia and Zig/k/qirtu. 3. <sup>10</sup>*Zu-ur-zu-uk-ka/Du-ur-du[k]-ka*, a fortress in Mannea poss. = <sup>10</sup>*Ši-ir-da-ak-ka* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 52) = <sup>10</sup>*Zi-ir-da-ak-ka* in Missi (Fuchs 1994, 74; Olan.?).

#### 1.7.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Da-A-A-uk-ka/ki/ku*, governor (of Ullusium; time of Sargon II) of an unknown region of Mannea (Missi according to Grantovskiy, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 80, n. 1; Olan., see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998v).

### 1.8. Kumurdu

<sup>10</sup>*Ku-mu-ur-da-A+A* (gent.) of Mannea (Borger 1996, 34: B iii, 60 = C iv, 72) was equated with Ur III

*Humurtu* by Diakonoff 1956a, 282 with n. 3; 1985a, 73. Levine (1974, 115) is not aware of Diakonoff's identification, which may eventually facilitate the location of Kumurdu, perhaps towards the southern section of Mannea.

#### 1.8.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

Mi *Ha-ar-si* (= *Haršī* cf. Edzard 1957–71 and below, 4.9.1, 2) is described as situated at the "head" (SAG) of the Kumurdean district. <sup>10</sup>*Ha-ar-šu* (Tadmor 1994, 46: Ann. 11, 1) was on Tiglath-pileser III's way to Bit-Adadani (cf. below, 4.9.1). It is related to Urart. *Wa-ar-si-ta* according to Diakonoff and Kashkai (1979, 98). The latter is very probably the same place as *Wa-ar-šē* (*Wa-ar-šē/si*) from OB *Šušarrā* (Eidem 1992, 90a with refs.). Troops from *PA-ar-šē* are listed with troops from other places including *Ku-mu-ur-a-at-[e]*. The former is a variant of *Wāršū*. Is the latter form (listed as an anthroponym by Eidem 1992, 95a, s.v. *Kumur-ate*, but cf. Ziegler 1997, 791)<sup>20</sup> related to Kumurdu?

#### 1.8.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Ra-A-A-da-di-šā-de-e* (*-di-i*; Borger 1996, 34 cautiously considers the reading *Ra-A-A- $\ll$ da- $\gg$ di-šā-de-e*), the Kumurdeans' fortress commander in Ashurbanipal's time.

### 1.9. Surikāš and environs

<sup>10</sup>*Su-ri-ka-āš* was a Mannean district bordering on Karalla and Allab/pria in 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 31; see Levine 1977a, 117). It included 1. <sup>10</sup>*Si-ni-hi-ni* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 35; the identification with Senna/Sanandaj by Herzfeld 1938, 164 is due to assonance). The rivers 2. *Rap-pa-a* and 3. *A-rai-ta-a* were on the way from Sumbi (8.8 below) to Surikāš. The latter is at best a homonym of the land of Aratta (see the comment of Vallat 1993, 18 on Gordon 1960, 132 with n. 63 and Yusifov 1986, 87).

### 1.10. Har(r)ajna

#### 1.10.1. Related places (all gentiles)

1. <sup>10</sup>*Har/HIR/MUR-ra-na-A+A* is mentioned in 828 B.C. before the district of 2. <sup>10</sup>*Šā-šā-ga-na-A+A*

(Grayson 1996, 71; Shalm. III A.O.102.14, 181f.; cf. <sup>10</sup>*šā-šā-šā-ga-na- $\gg$ A+A* from 784 B.C., Dalley and Postgate 1984, 145, iv, 16 and 1.14, d below). They are preceded by 3. <sup>10</sup>*Ga- $\ll$ bi-ri-sa-A+A* (restored in view of <sup>10</sup>*Ga- $\ll$ bi-ri-šā- $\gg$ A+A*) in Grayson 1996, 83: A.O.102.16, 329, cf. below, 2.2.3), <sup>10</sup>*An-di-A+A* (= 1.6 above) and 4. <sup>10</sup>*x-bi-ra-A+A* (cf. Grayson 1996, 83: A.O.102.16, 330). Apparently Har(r)ajna was situated on the way from Mannea proper to Allab/pria. The capital of Har(r)ajna was 5. <sup>10</sup>*Ma-sa-šū-ru* (Grayson 1996, 83: A.O.102.14, 169).

#### 1.10.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Šu-lu-su-mi* of <sup>10</sup>*Har(r)ajna*, 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 83: A.O.102.16, 311').

### 1.11. Allab/pria

#### 1.11.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-a*, <sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-a*, <sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-a*, gent. <sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-ri-A+A*, <sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-ri-A+A* (Parpola 1970, 12 with refs.), was a state between Mannea and Parsua (see Kinmer Wilson 1962, 112f.; Fuchs 1994, 418f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 97). Levine (1994, 138) suggests a location in the Sanandaj valley (possibly, too far to the south). It is first mentioned in 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.O.102.6, iii, 62f.). It is noteworthy that a certain bird of the mountains is defined as "Allab/prian" in SB (*il-lab/pri-a-A+A*, *il-lab/pri-a-A+A*, see von Soden 1959–81, 372a, s.v.; with *a > i*; CVC signs like *BAR* may also render /CC/).

1. <sup>10</sup>*Pad/pd/-ti-ra* was the capital of Allab/pria as early as 842 B.C. (alternatively read as *Šur-di-ur*, but see Grayson 1996, 40 ad A.O.102.6, iii, 62f., who prefers *Pad-*; the sequence <sup>10</sup>*Al-lab/pri-ri-A+A*, <sup>10</sup>*ZALAG-A+A*, <sup>10</sup>*Pad-ir-A+A* in Grayson 1996, 172f.; Shalm. III A.O.102.1002, 4' is tertiary stemming from the secondary sequence for which see below, 2.1.1.1). In c. 817 B.C. (at the latest), <sup>10</sup>*Pad/pd/-ti-ra* is described as the easternmost point of the Assyrian empire (Grayson 1996, 184; Shamshi-Adad V A.O.103.1, i, 7). <sup>10</sup>*Pad/pd/-ti-ri* (Winckler 1889, 170, 12), <sup>10</sup>*Pat-ti-ri* (Weidner 1941–44, ii, 22) is mentioned together with Karalla in Sargon II's time, notably in 716 B.C. (gent. <sup>10</sup>*Pad-ir-A+A*, Weidner 1941–44, 43, 12, 16, cf. Fuchs 1994, 453). The town belonged to Mannea



in Ashurbanipal's time. This accords well with the maximum expansion of Mannea towards Zamua during the first half of the seventh century B.C. (cf. above, 1.7.1). 2. <sup>ba</sup>*La-a-ni-e-te*, a district of Allabria, included the fortress of 3. <sup>am</sup>*La-ta-se-e* opposite Sinhini of Surikaš in 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 37).

### 1.11.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy (all rulers)

1. *la-an-zi-bur-ia-āš*, king of Allab/pria, c. 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iii, 63), Kass. (see Brinkman 1976–80a); 2. *Ar-ta-sa-ri* from Pad\* text ŠUR-di-ra, 829 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 70; A.0.102.14, 171; see Radner [and Schmitt] 1998d), OIran.; 3. *Bēl-apla-iddina*, 716 B.C. (Fuchs 1998g); 4. *1-i-i* ruler of Allab/pria, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 24, ii.d, Ass.12; Ass. 16), atyp.

### 1.12. Adjacent regions

#### 1.12.1. Šur-da/ta (or Padda/Patta)

<sup>am</sup>*Pad-Šur-ta* is first mentioned in 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 33). The identification with *PAD-Šur-da* seems plausible in view of the geographical context: It was on the way from Karalla to Nikkur (presumably in Parsua) according to the itinerary of Sargon II.

1. *A-da-a* from Šurda, 713 B.C., atyp. (Fuchs 1998b, 1).

#### 1.12.2. Karalla

<sup>ba</sup>*Kar-al-la/i/lu/ta*, gent. *KAR(a)-la-A+A* (Fales and Postgate 1995, 125, 8; Rölli 1976–80) was near Zamua and Surda. Levine (1972, 31) locates it in the plateau around Lake Zeribar (cf. Levine 1977a, 137; Fuchs 1994, 442; Vera Chamaza 1994, 96).

1. *Aššur-lē-i*, 716 B.C.; 2. *A-mi-ta-šī*, and his sons 3. *Ar-ka-A* [A]x and 4. *Ar-ka-a-a-DUG* (all from 713 B.C., Fuchs 1998c, 1998d, Fuchs and Schmitt 1998d).

#### 1.12.3. Other

1. <sup>am</sup>*Gu-mi-sa-mu/ni* (Harper 1892–1914, 616, NA, undated) is mentioned together with Mannea. 2. <sup>am</sup>*Ti-ik-ri-š* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 217 r. 1) might have been located near the Mannean border, not far from Ulūša and Sanha. There is no need to compare (with Parpola 1970, 352, s.v.) Tikiš with Sig'kris, which is to

be sought much more to the south (Vallat 1993, cxxi, 280 differentiates Tikiš from OB Tukiš). Tikiš is associated with Haralli/Aral/Di (Karalla?) cf. Deller and Postgate 1985, 71a ad 119). Stöl (1976, 41f. with lit.) is of the opinion that Ti'ukriš was located in Luristan, whereas Vallat (1993, 80) advocates a location of both Tikiš and Harallu in southeastern Iran. Is the anthroponym *Ta-ak-ri-si-u* from OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 132, 26) a gentile of a variant of Tikiš? Nothing is known about 3. <sup>ba</sup>*RI-d(a)-A+A*, who are mentioned together with the Mannaeans and Sirīšians in Esarhaddon's time (Starr 1990, 28, 11).

1.13. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (27 = 100%; severely damaged names, viz. 1.6.2, 2, are not taken into account; the same applies to 1.1.2, 9, which is dubious)

(a) **Old Iranian** (4 = 14.81%): **829 B.C.**: *Ar-ta-sa-ri* (1.1.2, 2), see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998d); *Hu-da-ki* (1.1.2, 1) < \**Hu-dā-ka-* (to \**Hu-dāh-* with Avestan parallels, see Grantovskiy 1970, 186f.:9) - **717 or 716 B.C.**: *Ba-ag-da-at-ti* (1.3.2, 1) < \**Baga-dāta-* (see Justi 1895, 57a; Scheffelowitz 1905, 274; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998j) - **Time of Sargon II**: *Ka-da-A+uk-ka/ki/ku* (1.7.2, 1, see Schmitt 1973; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998v); - (b) **Old Iranian or atypical** (1 = 3.7%): *A-a-a* (1.1.2, 4; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998h; too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation); - (c) **Kassite** (1 = 3.7%): *la-an-zi-bur-ia-āš* (1.1.1.2, 1, cf. Balkan 1994, 58); - (d) **Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 3.7%): *E/ri-si-in-ni*, *E-ri-si-la-ni* (1.1.2, 8; cf. MB *I-ri-se-en-ni*, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 220b, 255b; Fuchs and Schmitt 1998b); for *-IA-* cf. perhaps *E(or IA)-ri-si-iš-te-IA-na* (1.1.1, 9) and *Ur-me-e(or IA)-te* (= *Ar-me-e(or IA)-Ar-ma-et*, 1.1.1, 3). - **Just possible** (1 = 3.7%): *Te-lu-se/si-na* (1.6.2, 1) apparently ends with Hurr. *-šēn* 'brother' or a related form (cf. Gelb *et al.* 264b; Diakonoff 1956a, 207, n. 3; 1985, 71 with n. 1; hardly Kassite as hesitantly suggested by Balkan 1994, 178d). - **Doubtful** (2 = 7.4%): *Mi/Mi-ta-at-ti*, *ta-at-ti* (1.5.2, 1, see Diakonoff 1985, 71 with n. 1; hardly Iranian as understood by Herzfeld 1938, 171 and Grantovskiy 1970, 273) and 1.1.2, 6. - (e) **Atypical** (4 = 14.81%): *A-da-a* (1.1.2.1, 1), *A-ka-ā* (1.1.2, 3), both short and ubiquitous; *Gi-ki-i* (1.1.2, 12, cf. Tallqvist 1914, 277b; [Lapinkivi and] Schmitt 1998; *Kiki* with dissimilation, cf. Zadok 1995a, 439; common to several unrelated

dialects); 1.1.2, 4. - (f) **Akkadian** (3 = 11.11%): 1.1.2, 11, 1.1.1.2, 3, 1.1.2.2, 1. - (g) **Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (3 = 11.11%): *Ir-an-zi-zu*, *Ir-an-šū* (1.1.2, 2), cf. perhaps OB *I-lan-zi* from Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 50, 16', with interchange of a liquid/nasal due to the presence of two such consonants in this name); *U-a-ja-l-i* (-i, 1.1.2, 7), cf. perhaps NE *U-al* (Scheil 1907, 259 r. 4, cf. Zadok 1991, 225, n. 2) on the one hand and the toponym <sup>am</sup>*U-al-li-a* near Enzi (Parpola 1970, 362; cf. Astour 1987, 56f.; in a Hurro-Urartian speaking region on the other, *U-lu-su-nu* (1.1.2, 5) was compared with *Šu-lu-su-nu* (1.1.0.2, 1) by Melikšvili 1949, 71. It has nothing to do with MB *U-lu-su-nu* (pace Boehmer 1964, 18 with n. 45)). - (h) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (7 = 25.92%): *Al-da-kul-pa* (1.5.2, 2, cf. Schmitt *apud* Schwemer 1998), *A-mi-ta-šī* (1.1.2.2; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998d), *Ra-A+Ad-a-di-š-de-e* (*-di-i*, 1.8.2; its problematic segmentation is discussed by Diakonoff 1956a, 282 with n. 3); 1.1.2, 10, 12; 1.1.2.2, 4.

(i) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 4 = 14.81%; 744–705: 16 = 59.25%; 744–705/704–600: 2 = 7.4%; 704–600: 5 = 18.51%. - **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (4 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 = 50%; Kassite 1 = 25%; Isolated 1 = 25%. - 744–705 (16 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 = 12.5%; Old Iranian or atypical 1 = 6.25%; possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 = 6.25%; Hurro-Urartian? 1 = 6.25%; atypical 3 = 18.75%; Akkadian 3 = 18.75%; unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 1 = 6.25%; unaffiliated and isolated 4 = 25%. - 744–705/704–600 (2 = 100%): Atypical 1 = 50%; unaffiliated and isolated 1 = 50%. - 704–600 (5 = 100%): Hurro-Urartian 1 = 20%; Hurro-Urartian? 1 = 20%; unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 1 = 20%; unaffiliated and isolated 2 = 40%.

1.14. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (82 = 100%; severely damaged names, viz. 1.1.1, 14; 1.4, 2; 6.1.1.0.1, 4; 1.1.2.3, 3 are not taken into account)

(a) **Pre-first millennium** (2 = 2.43%): <sup>ba</sup>*Ku-mi-ur-da-A+A* (1.8) < Ur III *Humurtu*. *Hu-mur-ti* is recorded as an anthroponym in MB (Balkan 1954, 55). Mt *Ha-ar-si* (1.8.1; presumably = *Ha-ar-si*). - (b) **Homonymous with pre-first millennium** (2 = 2.43%): *Ar-at-ta-a* (1.9, 3) may be compared with the anthroponyms *Ar-a-at-tu*, *Ar-ra-at-ta* from MB Nuzi

(Gelb *et al.* 1943, 24b, 204f.). *Ti-ik-ri-š* (1.1.2.3, 2) looks like a quasi-homonym of Tukiš, a toponym from the second millennium B.C. - (c) **Old Iranian** (1 = 1.21%): *Ar-ra-a-mi-Te-ra-a-na* (1.1.1, 6) < *-āna* (pro-) patronymic of *Ār-* 'fire' (cf. Yusifov 1986, 93, n. 42 whose analysis is imprecise), cf. LB *Ar-ba-ma-mi* and *Tu-ra-ba-na-* for one and the same individual (Hilprecht and Clay 1898, 18, 11 and 28a, 15 resp.; see Zadok 1977a, 115; 2.4.1 and Dandamayev 1992, 49–75). - **Just possible** (4 = 4.84%): *U-āš-di-RiK-ka* (1.5.1, 4) < \**Vāstra-ka* 'pasture' (see Zadok 1977b, 77a with n. 2); *Ra-ak-si* (1.5.1, 10) < \**Rxš-* (see Grantovskiy 1970, 273). *Za-ra-am-da* (1.2, 8, see Grantovskiy 1971, 276) is apparently homonymous with the hypothetical forerunner of modern *Zarand* in eastern Media; 1.5.1. - **Doubtful** (2 = 2.43%): *U-a-i* (1.3.1, 1) < \**Vahuš* 'good' according to Grantovskiy 1970, 274, but doubt is cast on this interpretation by Urart. *Wōs* / *Zu-ur-zi-uk-ka* / *Du-ur-zi-uk-ka*, *Zi-ir-da-ak-ka* (1.7.1, 3), poss. = *Šiir-da-ak-ka* < \**Zr(d)ya-ka* (see Grantovskiy 1970, 269f.; 1971, 310), with /d/ interchange.<sup>21</sup> However, the form with <g> casts doubt on an Iranian derivation. - (d) **Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian?** (1 = 1.21%): Melikšvili (1949, 60) was of the opinion that *E(or IA)-ri-si-iš-te-ia-na* (1.1.1, 9) ends in OIran. *-stāna-*. However, <IA> casts doubt on this derivation. Since the segmentation is not certain, one may compare the ending *-IA-na* with that of Urartian toponyms such as *Sa-ar-a-ur-ri-ta-na*, *Su-ur-i-dur-ri-ta-ni*, *Su-ur-du-ra* 'u-nu' < \**Sarduri-ana* (cf. Tadmor 1994, 126, n. 26) and perhaps \**Ar-giš-ti-ia-na* in Aiadi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 287). - (e) **Kassite** (3 = 3.65%). **With** *-yaš* ('land'), a common element in Kassite toponyms: 1.1.1, 12, and 15. *As-di-ā-šā*, which can be a homonym of the anthroponym *As-di-a-šū* (Dalley and Postgate 1984, 145, iv, 18, cf. Zadok 1994b, 48b). The latter is mentioned in a broken context before *Mar-duk-a-ti* and *As-de-e-lē(?)*-šū from 784 B.C. Members of various ethnic groups are mentioned in the same document (see Dalley and Postgate 1984 256 ad loc. and cf. [bāšā] *[šāš-gam(?)*-A+A, above, 1.10.1). - **Other**: *(I)-zi-bi-ia*, *Uz-bi-a*, *U-zi-bi-ia* (1.1.1, 2; see Boehmer 1964, 18f. with n. 58) is with dropping of the initial vowel like *(I)-zi-ir-ti-ir-ti-tu*, *(I)-zi-ir-te* (1.1.1, 1, cf. Melikšvili 1949, 61f., n. 2). - **Just possible** (2 = 2.43%): For *Na-zi-ni-ri* (1.1.1, 19) see Balkan 1954, 170f., s.v. *nazi* and *-niri*, who is followed by Boehmer (1964, 18f. with n. 60). *Si-hu-ia-na* (1.1.1, 18) is possibly based on the theophorous element *Šihu-*. - **Doubtful** (1 =



1.21%; *Al-lab/p-ri-a*, *Al-la-ab/p-ri-a*, *Al-lab/p-ri-a* (1.11.1), cf. perhaps the MB anthroponym *I-la-ap-ri-ia*, *I-la-ap-ri-ia-as* (Gelb et al. 1943, 219b, 320a). - (f) **Hurro-Urartian** (2.2 = 2.43%): *An-di-a-i* (1.6.1, 1) may be based on the *-ant-*, which is productive in the Hurrian onomastic, e.g. in MA *an-di-a-be/bi* in Nairi (Grayson 1991, 21; Tigl. I A.O.87.1, iv, 74; cf. Salvini 1967, 51, n. 8). *-a-i* is an internal Assyrian variation of the Akkadian case ending, cf. MA *an-di-a-ti-u*, NA *an-di-a* in Assyria proper (Nashef 1982, 4f.). *Pa-ar-da* (1.5.1, 1) is based on *part-* which can be represented by the late OB anthroponym *Pa-ar-ti* (Salvini 1996, 57, ii, 12; cf. Zadok 1999, §2). *Pa-ar-da* can render neither Olan. *\*Frāda-* nor *\*Pārta-* (pace Grantovskiy 1970, 273). - **Doubtful** (6 = 7.31%): *Ur-ki-mu-un* (1.1.1, 16), cf. perhaps Urart. *Ur-ki-a(-nē)*, Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 95) on the one hand and — if the segmentation is correct — MA *Un-za-mu-ni* (Grayson 1991, 21; Tigl. I A.O.87.1, iv, 74) on the other (see Salvini 1967, 51; Nashef 1982, 272). *ur-za* is extant in MB Nuzi, *-n*, *Ar/Up-pi-i* (1.1.1, 17) — Boehmer (1964, 18, with n. 53) compares the anthroponym *Ar-bi-su* (MB Nuzi, Gelb et al. 1943, 205), which may be based on Hur. *arp-*, but *-s* is still without parallel in this case. *Su-an-un-da-hu-ul* (1.7.1, 1), cf. Boehmer 1964, 18 with n. 52; Zadok 1986, 245ii, 1; 1999, 11 (*-hul*). *A-bi-ti-ik-na* and *La-lu-uk-mu-ni* (1.2, 3, 5) contain *-C-nV* (cf. Zadok 1995a, 44). Is 1.2, 1 based on *zük* (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 278f.). - (g) **Hurro-Urartian or atypical** (1 = 1.21%): *Pa-a/ap-pa* (1.2, 4) is either atypical (short and ubiquitous, cf. e.g., the OB and MB anthroponym *Ba-a-pa*, Salvini 1996, 59, iii, 31, Gelb et al. 1943, 243a) or perhaps Urart. *baba* 'mountain'. - (h) **Akkadian?** (1 = 1.21%): Is *HAR-ra-na-A* (1.10.1, 1); the first sign has also the values *hir*, *hur*, *mur*, and *kin*-a residual Akkadian name (based on *Harrān*) or an Akkadianised form? It may be compared linguistically with *an-HAR-ra-ni-a* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 133 r, 4), which was on the way from Hubuška to Assyria (poss. > modern *Rāma*, see Lanfranchi 1995, 136), *an-HAR-ra-a-ni-a* ('in Kurdistan' according to Starr 1990, 364b ad 23, 7), and NE *Ha-ra-an* (not the same place as cautiously suggested by Hinz and Koch 1987, 623). - (i) **Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (10 = 12.19%): *Pa-an-zi-iš* (1.7.1, 2), cf. the anthroponyms *Pa-an-zi-iš* (Fales and Postgate 1995, 219, iii, 10) and OB *Pa-in-zi* from Šušarra (Eidem 1992, 49a) as well as NA *pe-en-za-a* in Subria (possibly identical with *pe-be-*

*en-za*, see Kessler 1995, 63) with *C<sub>1</sub>el/C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>: C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>* (cf. *Ni-hi-ri-a/Na-ah-ri-a*, below, 2.6). With an earlier toponymic parallel from OB Šušarra (cf. 8.12, i below): — *Ši-me-ri* of *~Ha-di-ri* (1.1.1, 20, if the segmentation is correct). 1.1.1, 5 has an earlier homonym, viz. the anthroponym *Ši-lu-si-a* from MB Nuzi (see Gelb et al. 1943, 271a), cf. perhaps *Ši-lu-si-a* beyond the Nal range (*Ši-Na-al*) on the Urartian border (Tadmor 1994, 301 with refs.), perhaps a case of toponymic interregional duplication (cf. Astour 1987, 35). *Pa-išur-da-ta* (1.12.1)<sup>2</sup> may be homonymous with RAE *Ši-ur-da-ti* (Vallat 1993, 264) on the one hand and perhaps *an-Šur-da-A* (Tadmor 1994, 126; Summ. 1, 27, behind the Nal range) on the other, if the latter begins with a secondary (NA) *a-* (cf. below, 6.11, b). Compare also *Šur-ti*, son of a Zagros king in a letter from OB Šušarra (probably Hurrian according to Eidem 1992, 50), as well as the MB anthroponyms *Šur-ti* (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 133b) and *Šur-te-e-a* (*Šur-te* according to Gelb et al. 1943, 259b) from Nuzi. *Si-mi-hi-ni* (1.9, 1) — both *šim* and *himi* are recorded (Gelb et al. 1943, 216f., 257b), but they are never combined. *Iš-ta-ip-pa* (1.5.1, 5; perhaps homonymous with 6.7.4 below) is hardly Iranian as understood by Grantovskiy (1970, 273); an element *iš-* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponymy (see Salvini 1967, 60; cf. Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 45f.). *Na-an-zi* (1.5.1, 8) is too short for a reliable analysis; in addition, *-nz-* is also found in toponyms referring to places where Hurro-Urartian dialects were spoken. *Pad/d-i/ri-ra/ri* (1.1.1, 1), *Pat-ti-ri* (the interchange *d/i* is not uncommon in NA transcriptions of non-Semitic names) may be homonymous with Oakk. *Pā-ti-ri*, *Ba-ti-ri* (Rasheed 1981, 114, 10; 132, 13) in Jabal Himrin, *Ba-ti-ri* (Ur III or early OB, poss. modern Sar-i Pūl-i Zohāb, in the land of Halman (Edzard 1973; Speiser 1930, 88f.; Frayne 1992, 64ff.). For Batir see König 1928; cf. Diakonoff 1985, 38 (in a Lullubian context). Perhaps it is a substratum name with a Lullubian connexion. *Pad/d-i/ri-ra/ri*, *Pat-ti-ri* probably has nothing to do with MA *an-Pa-ti-ri* of Nairi (pace Streck 1899, 152). *Mi/Mi-i-si*, *Mi-si* (1.7.1) is apparently homonymous with *Me/Mi-si* (cf. below, 8.9, 1) on Lullubian territory. *Kar-al-la/i/lu/lu* (1.12.2) is compared with *Harall/i/lu* (Deller and Postgate (1985, 71b ad 119; for *k-* / *o-* in a different milieu see Durand 1994, 388, n. 28; 1997, 604, n. 68). Whether LB *ka-ra-al-la*, a kind of silver ornament (see Joannes 1989), has anything to do with *Karalla* (or

*Hjarral* (I) eludes me. - (j) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (44 = 53.65%): The last syllable of (*I-zi/ri/zi-i/lu*, (*I-zi-ri-te*, *Zi-g/k/qir-te/tu/ti* and *Pa-ar-da* (1.1.1, 1, 1.5 and 1.5.1, 1), which are not recorded in Urartian texts, has nothing to do with *-ta* of Urart. *Mēšā* (1.7.1, pace Melikishvili 1949, 58f.). *Uš-qa-ia* (1.2, 7), which is based on Olan. *huška-* according to Grantovskiy (1970, 276:58), is not necessarily Old Iranian in view of the Urartian form *Šs-ka/qa-i-i*. There are no sure examples of NA *<a-i>* for Olan. *\*valu-*. Therefore *A-i-ka-nē-e* (1.5.1, 3) cannot render Olan. *\*Vahukāna-* as suggested with due reserve by Eilers (1955, 228). 1.5.1, 6, 13, 15 are also not Old Iranian (pace Grantovskiy 1971, 273; the identification of 1.5.1, 2 with modern *Hašta riid* by Herzfeld 1938, 174 is due to assonance). *Uš-iš-iš* (1.3; Urart. *Uš-iš-iš*) seems to rule out a linguistic comparison with MA *šš-iš-iš*, cf. Nashef 1982, 142 (with lit.). The fact that 1.5.1, 11, 12 end in *-ka* does not prove that they are Iranian, as *-ka* is also common in Hurrian (a diminutive or rather an honorific marker, see Wegner 1988, 150), but what precedes *-ka* in these toponyms is not explicable in Hurrian terms. 1.1; 1.1.1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13; 1.2, 2, 6, 7, 9, 10; 1.3.1, 2; 1.4, 1, 3-5, 7-9; 1.5.1, 8, 9, 14, 16, 17 (despite Boehmer 1964, 18 with n. 53, 56, 57a); 1.6.1.2; 1.9, 1.9, 2; 1.10.1, 2, 3, 5; 1.11.1, 2, 3; 1.12.1, 1.

(k) **Summary. Chronological distribution:** 1000-745: 22 = 26.82%; 744-705: 43 = 52.43%; 744-705/704-600: 1 = 1.21%; 704-600: 16 = 19.51%. **Ethno-linguistic classification:** 1000-745 (22 = 100%): homonymous with pre-first millennium 1 (4.54%); Kassite? 1 (4.54%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (4.54%); Hurro-Urartian? 1 (4.54%); Akkadianised? 1 (4.54%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 4 (18.18%); unaffiliated and isolated 13 (59.09%)-744-705 (43 = 100%): homonymous with pre-first millennium 1 (2.32%); possibly quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium 1 (2.32%); possibly Old Iranian 3 (6.97%); Old Iranian 2 (4.65%); Kassite 1 (2.32%); Hurro-Urartian? 4 (9.3%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 6 (13.95%); unaffiliated and isolated 24 (55.81%)-744-705/704-600 (1 = 100%): possibly Old Iranian- 704-600 (16 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 2 (12.5%); Old Iranian 1 (6.25%); Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (6.25%); Kassite 2 (12.5%); possibly Kassite 2 (12.5%); Hurro-Urartian? 2 (12.5%); unaffiliated and isolated 6 (37.5%).

## 2. PARSUA AND ENVIRONS

(see Streck 1900, 308ff.; Levine 1973, 20f.; 1974, 106ff.; cf. Arutunyan 1985, s.v.v.; Salvini 1998)

### 2.1. Explicitly in Parsua

#### 2.1.1. Parsua "proper"

##### 2.1.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

Parsua (*\*Pa/Pā/Pā-su-a*, *\*Pār-su-a*, *\*Pa-ar-su-a*, Thureau-Dangin 1912, 38) was on the way from Larute (in Allab/pria) to Missi according to the itinerary of Sargon II's eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 37ff.). Tiglath-Pileser III annexed the two provinces of Parsua and Bit-Hamban to Assyria in 744 B.C. (see Tadmor 1994, 166 ad Summ. 7, 37 and 98; St. 1 B, 9f.). Qal'eh Paswē not far from Solduz may be a survival of the name Parsua according to Minorsky 1957, 78f. (cf. Sayce 1882, 389; Kinnier Wilson 1969, 111f.). Qal'eh Paswē is far enough from the southern shore of Lake Urmia. This location is still compatible with the conclusion of Levine (1974, 112) that Parsua was raided, but not conquered by Urartu. His localisation of Parsua northwest of the Mahidast itself, including the northern end of the Mahidast itself (near Ravansar, Levine 1974, 106ff.; 1977a, 138f.; followed by Vera Chamaza 1994, 97ff.), does not necessarily rule out its extension to the north, as far as Qal'eh Paswē. Levine does not define the eastern border of Parsua, but states that Mannea lay to the north. This statement can be relativised considering that there are hardly any fixed points of delimitation of Mannea in the west-southwest, at least before Ashurbanipal's time. Qal'eh Paswē is on Hubušian territory, as implied by Reade 1978, 140, fig. 2 and Liebig 1991, 33f. Levine (1977b, 181) is of the opinion that the Mahidast was the critical area in the competition between Assyria and Urartu on the hegemony in Media and points out (Levine 1974, 110f.) that Parsua is recorded together with Niqua and Tugliās (= Tupliās) in Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor 1994, cf. presently). However, this does not bear on its location and does not support a southerly extension of Parsua.<sup>23</sup> In fact, in these summary inscriptions Parsua precedes Bit-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 124:Summ. 1, 18; 132:Summ. 3, 6') and Bit-Zatti, Bit-Abdadani, Bit-Kapsi (Tadmor 1994, 164f.:Summ. 7, 29, 35). All these regions are to be sought north of the Great Khorasan Road. The general geographical order of these summary



inscriptions is discussed by George (1996, 369, n. 14). Zadok 2001 presents the sections where the Iranian regions are listed.

Regarding geographical arrangement, there are at least three groups of regions, namely a southern (Nos. 1–9,<sup>24</sup> 32–35), northern (Nos. 12–17, 19–21) and an eastern one (Nos. 18, 24–26, 36–41). Most of the remaining regions are mentioned only once. The longest list (A) seems to form an almost full circle, namely from the southwest (notably Namri, Tupliš and Bit-Barrūa) to the north (notably Bit-Abdadani, Bit-Kapsi and Šibur), then to the southeast (Uparya and B/Pustus) and southwest (Tilī-Aššuri). In this case 36–41, which are to be sought further east, form an appendix. It is clear therefore that Parsua is associated with the northern group, i.e. the regions which are generally situated north of the Great Khorsan Road. This is in agreement with Forrer (1921, 90), who locates Parsua more to the north, roughly east of Sanandaj. He is followed by Reade (1978, 139) and Zimansky (1990, 14). The latter criticises Levine's southern location of Parsua and points out that it was an extensive territory. The inscriptions of Šalmaneser III (basically describing the campaign of 843 or 842 B.C.) contain a constant geographical sequence from north to south, viz. <sup>kur</sup>Mu-un-na, <sup>kur</sup>Al-lab/p-ri-a, <sup>kur</sup>Par-su-a, <sup>kur</sup>Ab-da-da-a-ni/<sup>kur</sup>Ab-da-da-a-nu, <sup>kur</sup>Ha-ban, <sup>kur</sup>ZALAG/<sup>kur</sup>Na-am-mur and <sup>kur</sup>Tug<sup>2</sup>-li-ia-iš (Grayson 1996, 40ff.; A.0.102.6, iii, 6iff.; A.0.102.10, iii, 34ff., cf. A.0.102.13, 2'ff.). The sequence <sup>kur</sup>Mu-un-na, <sup>kur</sup>Par-su-a, <sup>kur</sup>Al-lab/p-ri-a, <sup>kur</sup>Ab-da-da-ni, <sup>kur</sup>ZALAG, <sup>kur</sup>Ha-ban and <sup>kur</sup>Tug<sup>2</sup>-li-ia-iš (Grayson 1996, 60: A.0.102.12, 19f.) is secondary (a shorter version is contained in the fragment Grayson 1996, 114f.; A.0.102.37, 10'f.). 27 kings of <sup>kur</sup>Par-su-a delivered tribute in 835 B.C. after Šalmaneser III had completed his campaign against Namri (Grayson 1996, 68: A.0.102.14, 120, see Levine 1977b, 178; Salvini 1982, 391; Vera Chamaza 1994, 99; no specific kingdoms and rulers are recorded). This is not a stereotypical ("typological") number and hence credible. In 829 B.C. Šalmaneser III received tribute from an unspecified number of Parsuan kings, but he had to conquer the cities of other rulers of Parsua who did not submit to him (Grayson 1996, 68: A.0.102.14, 127f.; in the following year he had to repeat his activities). It is evident that Parsua was not a consolidated political unit, but rather a cover name for many small entities governed by city rulers, whose foreign policy was not

necessarily coordinated. A detailed list of "all the kings of Nairi", who delivered tribute as a result of the third campaign (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.), is preserved in Grayson 1996, 186: Šamsi-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 45ff. This list enumerates at least 27 rulers (or 28, see Grantovskiy 1970, 192f., 209, but cf. below, 2.1.4.1). Although there is no evidence that they ruled over regions of Parsua (Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2 defines their territory in very general terms: "mountainous regions of the Zagros and west of them" [the end of his statement is less definitive; for "Greater" Nairi, cf. Liverani 1992, 107]), it is remarkable that their number is almost identical with that of the Parsuan kings, who are mentioned about 20 years earlier, i.e. virtually in the same generation. In addition, it stands to reason that the arena of Šamsi-Adad V's campaign included Parsua. It can be argued that Nairi here refers to northwestern Media (including Parsua) as well. It is stated that Šamsi-Adad V went to Nairi in his second campaign, in the course of which he defeated S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, Ušpina (Išpuni of Urutu) and the people of Sumbi, and received tribute from the kings of Nairi. In the course of his third campaign to Nairi, Šamsi-Adad V received tribute from Hubuška, S/ŠAR-ši-na of Zamua, the Sumbians, Manneans, Parsuans and Taureans, and he marched against Missi, Gizilb/punda and the Medes (Grayson 1996, 184f.; A.0.103.1, ii, 16ff.). Nairi in Adad-narāri III's time is just a geographical term (see Salvini 1967, 23). This applies to Šamsi-Adad V's time as well.

1. <sup>kur</sup>Šā-la-ha-ma-ni and 2. <sup>kur</sup>Ki-ni-ha-ma-nu ( juxtaposed; with 23 unnamed settlements) of Parsua are recorded in 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 71:Šalm. III A.0.102.14, 186, cf. 83:A.0.102.16, 335'f.). Urart. Parsua included the towns of 3. <sup>kur</sup>Ša-a-ri-ti and 4. <sup>kur</sup>Qa-i-a (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 67, 79). 5. <sup>kur</sup>Ni-kip-pa (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 15, 418, see Streck 1999) may tentatively be Urart. *Nigibe* in Parsua (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 60), in which case the settlement of Nigibe might have been situated on Mt. Nikippa. Nikippa was adjacent to Sumbi (below, 8.8), which was situated in northern Zamua. Is SB <sup>kur</sup>Ni-kap (Reiner 1956, 129ff., 132:27; a source of *hulalu*-stones) the same place? (*CYC* signs like *KAP* are indifferent to vowel quality; the variant *h-kap* may be due to a copyist's error, IR being *NI* with an extra wedge). 6. <sup>kur</sup>Gingultu (extant in the gent. <sup>kur</sup>Gī-in-hu-uh-ta-ā-A) is identical with <sup>kur</sup>Ga-an-gu-uh-tu (perhaps in Niksamma

according to Fuchs 1994, 435; cf. below, 2.1.1, see Wäfler 1975, 280, n. 1448, cf. Billerbeck 1898, 101f., n. 1), and <sup>kur</sup>Ki-gu-uh-ti (Harpur 1892–1914, 556 r. 10; see Diakonoff 1956a, 211, n. 3, cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 193). The latter is mentioned together with 7. <sup>kur</sup>Ki-za-ha-si and Harhar (= Kār-Šarru-ukin), <sup>kur</sup>Ni-kur, Media, Mannea, Mazamua and Habban are also mentioned in the same letter. However, the letter has neither a specific geographical context nor an administrative affiliation (cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 211, n. 3). 8. <sup>kur</sup>Ni-kur (gent. <sup>kur</sup>Ni-kur-ā-A, see Billerbeck 1898, 78f.) is mentioned after Bit-Ab-da-da-ni and Bit-Sangi( )], and before Sassiāsu (Tadmor 1994, 46 : Ann. 10.9f.; 11.5; 744 B.C.). There is no definite proof that Nikkur was situated in Parsua as understood by Forrer (1921, 89; Diakonoff 1985a, 62, n. 2 is of the opinion that Nikur was the capital of Parsua), the more so since Parsua is not mentioned in this passage (but the passage is damaged). Tadmor (1994, 47) compares Nikkur with *Ni-ik(?)*-kār (Levine 1972, 39, ii, 33; his campaign in Parsua included Gangultu, cf. Wäfler 1975, 268ff., 280f. with n. 1450), which is mentioned between (Mannea →) Šurta/Patta and Šurgadia (from there he proceeded to Hundir and Kišesi). The first section of Sargon II's itinerary in 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 36f., ii, 26ff.) is: Mannea → Karalla → Šurta/Patta → Nikkar → Šurgadia → Hundir (Kišesi). It can be concluded that Parsua bordered on northern Zamua and Mannea, and was situated west of Gizilb/punda.

#### 2.1.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

*Ur-si* <sup>kur</sup>Gī-in-hu-uh-ta-ā-A, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 186: Šamsi-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 58; Kass, 8).

#### 2.1.2. Šurgadia

<sup>kur</sup>Šur-ga-di-a was annexed to the province of Parsua by Sargon II (see Levine 1977b, 181; Fuchs 1994, 461).

1. *Na-ah-ri* (Hurr.-Urart.?) and 2. *Šēp-šarri*, both 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 34f.).

#### 2.1.3. Niksamma

<sup>kur</sup>Ni-iks-sa-am-ma was also annexed to the province of Parsua by Sargon II (Fuchs 1994, 453).

#### 2.1.4. B/Puštu

##### 2.1.4.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

<sup>kur</sup>B/Pu-ūš-tu, which explicitly belonged to Parsua in 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 71:Šalm. III A.0.102.14, 186), is identified with Urart. *B/Puštū* (Diakonoff and Kashkai, 1979, 23 and map after 127) and <sup>kur</sup>B/Pu-ūš-tu (Borger 1996, 33, C iv, 45f.; see Diakonoff 1956a, 282, n. 2; Grantovskiy 1970, 141). It seems to be a pre-Iranian toponym (see below, 2.6). <sup>kur</sup>B/Pu-ūš-tu-tu-ti is not identical with <sup>kur</sup>B/Pu-ūš-ti-ti-is (or *Bu-pu-ūš-ti-ti-is*), a district of Media near Ba'it-ilī (below, 7.12.1), which is much to the south (see Billerbeck 1898, 91, n. 2 and Diakonoff 1991, 14, n. 5, *pace* Streck 1900, 310 [cf. 308, n. 1], Salvini 1982, 391 with n. 48 and Arutyunyan 1985, 61). B/Puštū included the settlements of 1. <sup>kur</sup>U-i-hi-ka-a (alternatively to Mannea) and 2. *Qa-di-qa-ni-ū* as well as the district of 3. *Šatirayā*, which may be the same as *Šatirū* (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 65f., 80; cf. the Urartian province *Ša-ā-ta-ri-ra*, Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 90, 137).<sup>25</sup> *Šatirayā* included 4. <sup>kur</sup>A-b/pur-za(-ne) and *Šatirū*. The latter had 5. <sup>kur</sup>Gī-di-ma-ru and possibly the sub-district of 6. <sup>kur</sup>Ma-al-ma-li-e (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 3, 36, 53). Both 7. <sup>kur</sup>Ši-ti-ti-ar-ia (related to 3 above?) and 8. <sup>kur</sup>Pi-ir(URU)-ri-a (Grayson 1996, 71: Šalm. III A.0.102.14 183f.) belonged to 9. *bu-y[-xv]* (listed between Andia and Parsua; 828 B.C., *huxy* another 22 unnamed settlements). They might have been located on the way to B/Puštū. <sup>kur</sup>Ša-ti-ri-ā-A (Grayson 1996, 186: Šamsi-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 63) looks like a gentile of an NA equivalent of *Šatirū*. Diakonoff (1956a, 167, n. 1) considers this possibility and renders "the Satierean Artasirani". It appears at the end of a long list of kings which has a pattern RN + gentile, whereas here we have at best gentile + RN. Grantovskiy (1970, 209) regards *Ša-ti-ri-ā-A* as an anthroponym because it is preceded by a *Personekkil*. In this case the political entity of both *Ša-ti-ri-ā-A* and *Ar-ta-si-ra-ri* cannot be determined. Are we to deal here with a case of chiasm? This is tentatively suggested here in view of the resemblance of <sup>kur</sup>Ša-ti-ri-ā-A to *Šatirū* and the possibility that a geographical determinative may interchange with a *Personekkil* in a cuneiform inscription. 10. <sup>kur</sup>Ar-ha-hu-ū was located south of Lake Urmia in the vicinity of B/Puštū according to Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 10. The fact that B/Puštū was in Mannean hands in the middle of the sixth century B.C., may indicate that it was situated not far from the Mannean-Parsuan border.



2.1.4.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY  
*Ar-ta-si-ra-ri* (OIran.), end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.).

2.2. Mentioned in other sources as well (gentilics; end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.)

## 2.2.1. Taurlu

At least *kurTa-u-la-A+A* is listed after Pâr-su-a in Grayson 1996, 184; Šamšî-Adad V A.0.103.1, ii, 40. Its ruler was 1. *Ba-ar-zu-ta* the Taurlean (62; Iran?).

2.2.2. Hundur (not near the Taurus mountains as stated by Levine 1972–75e)

1. *Za-ri-šû* <sup>kur</sup>*Hu-un-du-ur-A+A* (47).

## 2.2.3. Kibaruš

1. *Pa-ru-uš-ta* (OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-ba-ru-šâ-A+A* (51f, cf. *Ga-bu-ri-sa-A+A*, 1.10.1 above?).

## 2.2.4. Kinuku

1. *Šu-ma-a* <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-ru-ka-A+A* (49f; cf. <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-na-ki* the first city which was conquered in Gizilb'punda (but it was razed, destroyed and burned according to Grayson 1996, 185; A.0.103.1, iii, 1f). This is perhaps not a discrepancy, seeing that the account of Šamšî-Adad V's third (and second) campaign "is very confused and seem to follow no geographical order, but the places mentioned span all of Iranian Kurdistan" according to Levine 1977b, 178, n. 5.

2.3. Petty states which might have been situated in northwest Media, including Parsua (end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.; cf. Diakonoff 1991, 15; see above 2.1.1.1, 2.1.4 and below, 3; all the names of the states are in the gentile form; figures in brackets refer to lines in Grayson 1996, 186; Šamšî-Adad V, A.0.103.1, iii, 45ff.; attribution to Parsua tentative)

## 2.3.1. Babaruru

1. *Si-ra-šâ-me* <sup>kur</sup>*Ba-ba-ru-ra-A+A* (45).

## 2.3.2. Harmišandu

1. *A-ma-HAR* <sup>kur</sup>*HAR-mi-iš-an-da-A+A* (45f).

## 2.3.3. Parsana

1. *Za-ri-šû* (OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*Pa-ar-sa-ni-A+A* (46; OIran.).

## 2.3.4. Kipabarutaka

1. *Sa-na-šû* <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-pa-ba-ru-ta-ka-A+A* (47f).

## 2.3.5. Uštašša

1. *Ar-da-ra-a* (OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*Uš-ta-ššâ-A+A* (48f).

## 2.3.6. Gingibir

1. *Ta-a-ta-a-i* (OIran., /atyp.) <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-in-gi-bir-A+A* (50).

## 2.3.7. Arima

1. *Bi-si-ra-in* <sup>kur</sup>*Ar-ri-ma-A+A* (51).

Arimeans (<sup>kur</sup>*Ar-ri-ba-ma-A+A*) are mentioned 320–300 years later in documents from the archive of the Egibi sons who were based in Babylon. A promissory note for 7.33 minas of silver (creditor Nabû-šumu-lišir s. of Tabnea descendant of Épeš-ili; debtor Marduk-nāšir-apli s. of Itti-Marduk-balātu descendant of Egibi) has at least 12 witnesses (eight with Akkadian names of whom several have surnames), the sixth-ninth witnesses are:

*A-ta-ri-ba-ma-a-ni*, [Ku?]-ut-tak-ki <sup>kur</sup>*Ar-ri-ba-ma-A+A*, *Sa-si-šâ-ku* [x]-na-uš-man-mu <sup>kur</sup>*Ar-ri-ba-ma-A+A* (BM 31530 = Bertin 2805, r. 4f; the witnesses' list is damaged so it is impossible to establish the exact order of the witnesses with Akkadian names); 15.XII. — Darius I (presumably in the last decade of the sixth century B.C. when Marduk-nāšir-apli was active). — In Strassmaier 1897, 458 and duplicate BM 30856 (Bertin 2799) *Me-e-gi-bar-maš-šû* <sup>kur</sup>*Im-bu-pu-ku-A+A* is the creditor and Širku s. of Iddina descendant of Egibi the debtor. The debt is to be repaid to *Me-en-na* 'the messenger of Me-e-gi-bar-maš-šû'. The first witness and the last two witnesses (fifth and sixth) are *U-di-ia*, *U-ma-ar-za-na* and *Ka-ššû-tu* <sup>kur</sup>*Im-bu-pu-ku-A+A*. They are preceded by a Choresman (third) and *Sa-ak-ki-ta* <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-ma-ra-A+A* ("Cimmerian", i.e. Scythian; fourth); only the second witness bears an Akkadian name with a surname (Babylon, 23.XI.505/4 B.C.).

BM 30818 (= Bertin 2837, [Šu?]-up-pa-tu, -VII.-Darius I) lists several witnesses with a mixture of Iranian and pre-Iranian names, like those of the Imb'pukians. The sixth-tenth witnesses of BM 30877 (= Bertin 2773; Hušēti-ša-Bēl-ētir, 17.XIIa. Darius I) are Imbukean (<sup>kur</sup>*Im-bu-ku-ia-A+A*), viz. *Sa-as-su-ii*, *Me-e-ga-ra-ba-ma-ššû*, *Ka-tu-tu*, *Me-na*, and *B'Pu-ri-i-qu* (tenth = last witness). They are listed after four witnesses with Akkadian names, Akkadian fathers' names and surnames and a fifth witness bearing an Akkadian name and an Akkadian father's name (see Eilers 1940, 213–19).

## 2.3.8. Wila

<sup>kur</sup>*U-i-la-A+A* (53). It may be homonymous — if not identical — with Ur III *Pi-il<sup>ku</sup>* (Sigrist 1984, 4, 10).  
 1. *Āš-pa-ššâ-ta-ia-uk*, OIran.

## 2.3.9. Kingistilenzah

1. *A-ma-ma-šš* <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-in-gi-iš-ti-le-en-za-ah-A+A* (53; Kass.).

## 2.3.10. Maširauš

1. *Has/TAR-si-hu*, Kass.? <sup>kur</sup>*Ma-šî-ra-uš-A+A* (54; Hurr.-Uart?).

## 2.3.11. Luksa

1. *Ma-ma-ni-iš* <sup>kur</sup>*Lu-uk-sa-A+A* (55).

## 2.3.12. Dimama

1. *Za-an-zar* <sup>kur</sup>*Di-ma-ma-A+A* (55; both atyp.).

## 2.3.13. Singuri

1. *Si-ra-a-šû* <sup>kur</sup>*Si-im-gu-ri-A+A* (56).

## 2.3.14. Abdana

1. *Gi-iš-ta* <sup>kur</sup>*Ab-da-na-A+A* (57) — haplography for Abdanu?

## 2.3.15. Asati

1. *A-da-da-a-mu* (prob. OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*As-ti-A+A* (57).

## 2.3.16. Ginzina

2.3.16.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY  
<sup>kur</sup>*Gi-in-zi-na-A+A* (59), cf. 1. <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-ni-zi-na-mu* (Tadmor 1994, 106St. II, B, 31'), which is followed by 2. <sup>kur</sup>*Sad-bat* and 3. <sup>kur</sup>*Si-sa-'ad-x'*. These towns probably formed one political-economic entity as the 120 horses taken by Tiglath-pileser III in 737 B.C. were delivered by these towns together.

2.3.16.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY  
 1. *Ba-ara*, OIran.

## 2.3.17. Kindutauš

1. *Ar-ru-a* (OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-in-du-ta-uš-A+A* (59).

## 2.3.18. Dag(?)rû

1. *Ki-ir-na-ku-uš* <sup>kur</sup>*Dag(?)ru-ia-A+A* (60).

## 2.3.19. Zuzarura

1. *Za-ba-mu* <sup>kur</sup>*Zu-za-ru-ra-A+A* (61).

## 2.3.20. Gingirda

1. *Ir-ri-za-ti* (OIran.) <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-in-gir-da-A+A* (61).

## 2.3.21. Nanitum

1. *Šu-ii-a*, (atyp.) <sup>kur</sup>*Na-ni-tum-A+A* (63).

## 2.4. Adjacent regions

<sup>kur</sup>*Za-li-pa-A+A* (gent.) is included in a report of a messenger from Parsua to Sargon II. Nikur and hostile Mannea are also recorded in the same source (Harper 1892–1914, 165; Hurr.?).

## 2.5. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (29 = 100%)

(a) Old Iranian (8 = 27.58%; all from the end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.): *Ar-da-ra-a* (2.3.5, 1; see Schmitt [and Talon] 1998); *Ar-ru-a* (2.3.17, 1) < *\*Arva* (see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998f, cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 275); <sup>26</sup>*Āš-pa-ššâ-ta-ia-uk* (2.3.8, 1; see [Radner



and] Schmitt 1998b), *Bo-a-ra* (2.3.16.2, 1) < \**Bāra*- (Grantovskiy 1970, 216f.30, cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 167, n. 1; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b), *Ir-ti-za-ti* (2.3.20, 1; see Scheffelowitz 1905, 275; Diakonoff 1956a, 167, n. 1; Grantovskiy 1970, 216, 210.21), *Za-ri-sū* (2.2.2, 1; 2.3.3, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 214.25f.), *Ar-ta-si-ra-ri* (2.1.4.2) < \**Rta-si-ra*- ([Radner and] Schmitt 1998c, cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 209f.; Scheffelowitz 1905, 275); NA <ra> for *iri* was explained by Diakonoff 1970, 111, n. 37 (cf. [Radner and] Schmitt 1998a) as <si-ra-ri> for <si-ra> by substituting <si-ri> for <si-ri> after the morpheme boundary. While accepting the Iranian etymology, I am not quite sure whether the spelling <si-ra-ri> is not an allusion of the Akkadian scribe to the mythological toponym *Sirara*. In other words: the spelling may be due to folk etymology. **Probable** (2 = 6.89%) *A-da-da-a-u* (2.3.15, 1, see Diakonoff 1956a, 167, n. 1; [Radner and] Schmitt 1998a), *Pa-ru-us-ta* (2.2.3, 1, see Diakonoff 1956a, 167, n. 1; Grantovskiy 1970, 207f.18), **Doubtful** (1 = 3.44%) *Bo-ar-zu-ta* (2.2.1, 1; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b). - **(b) Old Iranian or atypical** (1 = 3.44%) *Ta-a-ta-a-i* (2.3.6, 1; see Grantovskiy 1970, 217.31, cf. *Ta-at-ti-i*, below, 5.5.3), - **(c) Kassite** (1 = 3.44%) *Ur-si* (2.1.1.2), cf. Balkan 1954, 87, s.v. *Ūrsi* with NA <si> for foreign <si> (not Iranian, *paca* Grantovskiy 1970, 218, n. 35; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2), **Doubtful** (1 = 3.44%) Does *Has/Tar-si-hu* (2.3.10, 1, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2) end with <si-hu>. - **(d) Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 3.44%) *Na-ah-ri* (2.1.2, 1) is possibly related to the Hurrian PN *Ni-ih-ri-ia* (Gelb et al. 1943, 239a), according to Zadok (1979a, 298.20; the toponym *Ni-ih-ri-ia* has a variant *Na-ah-ri-ia*, both OA, cf. Nashef 1991, 88), - **(e) Atypical** (2 = 6.89%) *Za-an-zar* (2.3.12, 1) is neither Iranian (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2; despite Grantovskiy 1970, 213f.: 24) nor Akkadian (as may be implied by Tallqvist 1914, 247a),<sup>27</sup> but with a reduplicated syllable and dissimilation of liquids/nasals, *Šu-i-a* (2.3.21, 1) is not necessarily Old Iranian (as understood by Grantovskiy 1971, 217.32), as it is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation. - **(f) Akkadian** (1 = 3.44%) 2.1.2, 2, - **(g) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (1 = 3.44%) *Gi-iš-ta* (2.3.14, 1; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 218, n. 35; Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2, and [Fabricius and] Schmitt 1998c) may be compared with *Ki-iš-ta* (see Zadok *apud* Radner 1999, 204 d 64) and with the toponym *Ki-iš-tan-ta* in Kummuh (Tadomr 1994, 300 with refs., see Salvini 1976–80; Arutyunyan 1985, 112f.), a basically Hurrian-

speaking region. - **(h) Unaffiliated and isolated** (10 = 34.48%) *Ma-ma-ni-iš* (2.3.11, 1) is thought to be Old Iranian by Grantovskiy (1970, 211f.23), but this is implausible as NA <ma> cannot render Olran. *Avi- Ki-ir-na-ka-iš* (2.3.18, 1) is non-Iranian according to Diakonoff 1985, 56, n. 2 (despite Grantovskiy 1970, 217f.34). *Za-ba-mu* (2.3.19, 1) is hardly Iranian (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2; despite Scheffelowitz 1905, 275; Grantovskiy 1970, 216: 28), cf. Bi-bi-i (atypical) son of *Za-ba-mu* in a deed from Assur, datable to 633 B.C. (Baker 1998b). *Si-ra-a-sū* (2.3.13, 1) is non-Iranian, cf. perhaps *Si-ra-aš-me* in the same list (2.3.1, 1, cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 218, n. 35; Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2). *A-ma-HAR* (2.3.2, 1; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 218, n. 35; Waters 1998a), *A-ma-ma-iš* (2.3.9, 1, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2; Waters 1998b), *Bi-si-ra-in* (2.3.7, 1, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2; Fuchs 1998a), *Ša-na-sū* (2.3.4, 1; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 218; Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2); and *Šu-ma-a* (2.2.4, 1, non-Iran. according to Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 2, despite Grantovskiy 1971, 217.33), **(i) Summary. Chronological distribution:** 1000–745: 27 = 93.11%; 744–705: 2 = 6.89%. **Ethno-linguistic classification:** 1000–745 (27 = 100%): Old Iranian 8 (29.62%); probably Old Iranian 2 (7.4%); Old Iranian? 1 (3.7%); Old Iranian/atypical 1 (3.7%); Kassite 1 (3.7%); Kassite? 1 (3.7%); atypical 2 (7.4%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated (3.7%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (3.7%). 744–705 (2 = 100%): possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 (50%); Akkadian 1 (50%).

2.6. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (48 = 100%; 2.1.4.1, 9 and 2.3.16.1, 3 are not counted)

**(a) Pre-first millennium?** (1 = 2.08%) \**Wil(a)* (2.3.8), cf. Ur III *Pl-iš* on the one hand (*Pl* with the reading *wi* is very common before the middle of the second millennium B.C.) and the anthroponyms *Ū-e-li*, *Ū-i-lī* (Sarg.), *Ū-e-li* (Ur III, Zadok 1994b, 34b, 39b, 40b, 41b). \**Wil(a)* may be quasi-homonymous with *Wur* *Ū-i-la* near *Eribi* and *Kumuh* east of the Euphrates (Tadomr 1994, 184; Summ. 9, 21), a basically Hurrian-speaking region. - **(b) Homonymous with pre-first millennium names** (2 = 4.16%) *B/Pu-us-tu*, *B/Pu-su-ut* (2.1.4), cf. the Šimashkan anthroponym Ur III *B/Pu-su-ud*, *Pu(a)ʔ-si-ud* (Zadok 1991a, 229.52) and the MB anthroponym *B/Pu-us-si-ut/tū* (Hölscher 1996, 57b). *Ni-kip-pa* (2.1.1.1, 5), cf. *li-mi-Ni-ki-ippa* from MB Emar (see Zadok 1991b, 49). Is it contained in MB *Šu-*

*uh-ni-ki-pa* (Gelb et al. 1943, 258b; there are no other names with *šuhni*-) and Ur III *Šu-ni-ki-ip* (Zadok 1993, 226.26, 1)? - **(c) Old Iranian** (2 = 4.16%) *Pa-ar-su-a*, *Par/Pār-su-a*, *Par-su-i-a*, *Pa-ar-su-aš-iš* (Parpola 1970, 274f.; see Grantovskiy 1970, 133ff.; 2.1.1.1); *Pa-ar-su-ni-A+A* (gent., 2.3.3; see Eilers 1954, 356f., n. 192; Grantovskiy 1970, 219f.36). **Originally anthroponyms** (all doubtful; 3 = 6.25%) *Ūš-ta-aš-šā-A+A* (2.3.5), gent. of \**Ūštašū* < \**Višta-aça* (< \**Višta-aspa*?) *Ab-da-na-A+A* (2.3.14) - haplography for *Abdadanu*? or *-ānu* (propatronymic of *Abda*?) (cf. Grantovskiy 1971, 220). *Pi-ir-ri-a* (2.1.4, 8) renders \**Friya*- according to Grantovskiy (1970, 187.10), but <rr> casts doubt on this interpretation. - **(d) Kassite** (1 = 2.08%) *Ki-in-gi-iš-ti-le-en-za-ah-A+A* (gent., 2.3.9). Balkan (1954, 98) analyses this toponym as *\*kūn-gi-iš-ti-nah* comparing the MB anthroponym *Kāš-ti-le-en-sah* (< *kāš* + *ti-le-en* + *sah*). In my opinion, we have here presumably a late form thereof with haplography or another form of phonotactical simplification, i.e. *King(i)*- (a purely toponymic component) + \**kūš*-*ti-le-en-sah*. The fact that *kingi*- precedes here an unmistakably Kassite anthroponym, does not necessarily mean that this toponymic component is of Kassite origin (but the possibility exists). Cf. below, g. - **Doubtful** (1 = 2.08%) Is *Ni-ka* (2.1.1.1, 8; *CVC* signs like *KUR* are indifferent to vowel quality) linguistically related to Kass. *nikir* (Balkan 1954, 170)? - **(e) Hurro-Urartian** (3 = 6.25%) The second component of *Šā-la-ha-ma-nu* and *Ki-ni-ha-ma-nu* (2.1.1.1, 1, 2) may be compared with Hurr. *hamana* (Gelb et al. 1943, 213a; cf. MB *ha-ma-na*), which is listed after Halman and Burrattāš, Nashef 1982, 116). *Za-li-pa-A+A* (2.4, cf. *šalip* at MB Nuzi (Gelb et al. 1943, 250a; add *A-la-šalip*, *Ar-šā-li-be*, Cassin and Glassner 1979, 31a; for *š* cf. below, 3.10) - **(f) Atypical** (2 = 4.16%) *Di-ma-ma-A+A* (gent., 2.3.12; with a reduplicated syllable) and 2.1.1.1, 4. - **(g) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (14 = 29.16%) *Gi-in-giir-da-A+A* (gent.; 2.3.20), *Gi-in-gi-bir-A+A* (gent., 2.3.6; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 209) and *Gi-an-gu-uh-tu* (*Gi-in-hu-uh-ta-A+A*, *Ki-gi-uh-ti*, 2.1.1.1, 6) are apparently with *kingi*- or a related form (see Hüsing 1901, 322f.). Diakonoff 1956a (138, n. 4) cautiously rendered it as “fortress (?)” or “settlement (?)” (in Lullubian, Qutian or “Mihrean”), but he did not repeat it in his revised English version (Diakonoff 1985a). Perhaps he had in mind the modern Iranian names with *Kang*, which Eilers (1956, 190) rendered as “Festung” and interpreted as originating from Proto-

Indo-European \**kenk*- “to gird”. Eilers did not mention the ancient occurrences of *kingi*-, perhaps being aware that an Indo-European derivation for such an ancient element is problematic. *Ki-in-dia-ta-A+A* (gent., 2.3.17) and *Ma-ši-ra-iš-A+A* (gent., 2.3.10) are hardly Iranian (Grantovskiy 1970, 220 has no etymology). They apparently end in *-uš* (for kind- cf. below, 7.17) like MA *Am-ma-iš*, *Da-am-ma-iš*, *E-za-a-iš*, *Hu-usa-iš*, *Sa-ra-da-iš*, *Sa-ra-iš* (Nashef 1982, 4, 119f., 133, 229) and NA *Ad-da-iš* (below, 8.3.1, 4), *Hal-ha-ta-iš* (Parpola 1970, 143), all in Hurro-Urartian regions (cf. Zadok 1995a, 443). *Ki-pa-ba-ru-ta-ka-A+A* (gent.; 2.3.4), has no Iranian etymology (Grantovskiy 1970, 220; Hurr. has *kipa*-, Gelb et al. 1943, 227b). *Satiraraya* (2.1.4.1, 3) may be the same as *Satirū* (Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 65f., 80) on the one hand and NA *Ši-ti-ir-ia* (2.1.4.1, 7) on the other. *Satiraraya* included *Satirū*. *Ši-ti-ir-ia* and *Sa-ti-ri-A+A* are hardly Iranian (as understood by Scheffelowitz 1905, 275f. and Grantovskiy 1970, 187, 209; cf. Ivantchik 1993, 121) in view of Urart. *Satirāria* (if both forms refer to the same place, cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 1). *HAR-mi-iš-an-da-A+A* (gent.; 2.3.2) was compared with *Harmasu* near Habrun/Kirun (*-anet*) is also final, cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 201a) by Grantovskiy (1970, 194). **With -ur** (cf. Eilers 1954, 364f., n. 218): *Zu-za-ni-ra-A+A* (gent.; 2.3.19) is perhaps based on a form \**Zucar* which seems to resemble the base of *Šušarā* (\**Šušar*-, for *Šušar-a* cf. Eidem 1992, 56, n. 44 who compares the anthroponyms *Šimār*, *Šušarā*). Although NA generally has <si> in foreign names which elsewhere are spelled with <š> as well, e.g. *Ar-za-an* (cf. below, 3.10, 19, for *š* interchange, which is extant in most of the Mesopotamian documentation of Hurrian names see Richter 1998, 131; Durand 1997, 604ff., nn. 72, 94, 312, 500 and possibly 98, 182), the preservation of *š* in modern *Šemšara* casts doubt on a “genetic” connexion between \**Zucar* and *Šušarā*. *Bo-ba-ru-ra-A+A* (gent., 2.3.1; for *ur* cf. *Kir-ru-ri/Hab-ru-ri*, 8.27) - *Hu-ma-du-ur-A+A* (2.2.4; with several homonyms: 3.3, 14, 19; 7.4.1.1, cf. ad 4.11.2.1, 1) - *Gi-in-ti-nu-A+A* (gent.), cf. *Gi-in-ti-nu-mu* (2.3.16.1). An element *kinz* is listed in Gelb et al. 1943, 227. It has probably nothing to do with *Kinca* < W.Sem. \**Qūš*-. Is *Si-im-gi-ur-A+A* (gent.; 2.3.13) the outcome of \**Si-ur* (Grayson 1991, 152): *Adad-narāi* II A.0.9.9.2, 84, 86, 88). MA *Ši-ik-ku-ri* (both are mentioned together with *Šu-ap-pa-ni*, Nashef 1982, 229f.) with a dissimilation? Is *Šikharu* an Akkadianised form? (cf. CAD S, 258b, s.v., cf. Cf. the



mountain name *kur-Si-kur-ra-bi* in Lullubum (Reiner 1956, 129ff., 134-44, provided the variant *Si-gan-ra-bi* is secondary, presumably due to a copyist's error, *GAN* originating from *KUR* with two extra wedges, cf. *ad Ir-kap* above, 2.1.1.1.5). (h) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (19 = 39.58%); 2.1.2 is not Iranian as understood by Herzfeld (1947, 729f.; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 314); *Ki-nu-ka-A+A* (2.2.4; cf. *Ki-na-ki* 7), 2.1.1.1.3, 3, 7; 2.1.3; 2.1.4.1, 1, 2, 4-6, 10; 2.2.1; 2.2.3; 2.3.7; 2.3.11; 2.3.15; 2.3.16.1, 2; 2.3.18; 2.3.21 (mostly gentiles). (i) **Summary. Chronological distribution:** 1000-745: 41 = 85.41%; 744-705: 7 = 14.58%. **Ethno-linguistic classification:** 1000-745 (41 = 100%): Pre-first millennium? 1 (2.43%); homonymy with pre-first millennium names 1 (2.43%); Old Iranian 2 (4.87%); Old Iranian, originally anthroponyms (all doubtful); 3 = 7.31%; Kassite 1 (2.43%); Hurro-Urartian 2 (4.87%); atypical 2 (4.87%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 14 (34.14%); unaffiliated and isolated 15 (36.58%).- 744-705 (7 = 100%): Homonymy with pre-first millennium names 1 (14.28%); Kassite? 1 (14.28%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (14.28%); unaffiliated and isolated 4 (57.14%).

### 3. NORTHWESTERN MEDIA

(cf. above, 2.3; cf. also Arutyunyan 1985, s.v.v. and Pecorella 1994)

3.1. *Near Greater Mannea* (presumably in northern Azarbaijan, later Sakasene)

3.1.1. **Regions, settlements and ethnic groups, which are mentioned in association with Scythians** (*kur-As-gu-za-A+A*)

1. *kur-Ku-ik-ku-ba-a*, 2. *kur-UD-pa-ni*; 3. *kur-Ra-ma-da-ni* (Starr 1990, 65 = Ivantchik 1993, 234f.; 32), 3f. (Ofrani), 4. *kur-Ar-ri-i* was beyond Ramadan. Mannea and Sig'kis (but not Tualadi, see Fuchs 1994, 465) are also mentioned in the same document. 5. *In-da-ra-A+A* were probably allies of the Mannaeans according to Ivantchik 1993, 194 *ad* 17 (but I doubt his tentative localisation of this group near the Elamite frontier).

3.1.2. **Scythian rulers based in northwest Iran** (Esarhaddon's reign)

On Scythian penetration to northern Mannea, see Diakonoff 1956a, 250; Kashkai 1977, 37f.

1. *B-pa-ka-A+A* (Ofrani), the Scythian (*kur-As-gu-za-*

*A+A*, Borger 1956, 52: Nin. A, iii, 60; *kur-As-gu-za-A+A*, 52: B, ii, 29; *kur-As-ku-ka-A+A*, 100: Mm. B, 21; an ally of the Mannaeans, who are always mentioned just before him, see Ivantchik 1993, 94); 2. *Bar/Pa-ra-tu-a* (Starr 1990, 20, 2, 6, r. 7) = Ptolemy's of Herodotus (probably the successor of 1 according to Ivantchik 1993, 93f., 156, 206f.; see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998a), Ofrani.

### 3.1.3. Pulwade and environs

3.1.3.1. **GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY** (refs. to Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, where previous lit. is listed; only 1, 2 explicitly belonged to Pulwade; cf. Kessler 1995, 65)

Urat. 1. *kur-Pu-lu-a-de-e* (around modern Seghendel, 64); 2. *kur-Li-lu-lu-i-ni-e*, *kur-Li-lu-lu-i-ni-e*, a royal city (50); 3. *kur-U-shu-lu*, 4. *kur-Bu-qu*, 5. *kur-Gi-lu-dü-ni*, 6. *kur-Gi-lu-ha-ni*, 7. *kur-Tu-i-DU* (3-7 on the way from Tabriz to Ardebil, 23, 37, 97).

### 3.1.3.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *Ka(?)-d[?]a-i-i*, mid-eighth century B.C. (Melikšvili 1971a, 417, 2).

### 3.2. Kilzanu

*kur-Gil/Kil/Kir/Hab-za-nu* (cf. G.G. Cameron *apud* Levine 1980, 606) seems to have been located on the southwestern shore of Lake Urmia (cf. Salvini 1982, fig. 2 after 394, rectifying Salvini 1967, 67 map 13; Russell 1984, 194f. and map on 199; Liverani 1992, 23f.). Postgate (1987-90, 342) is of the opinion that Kilzanu might have been located on what has become later a Mannean territory. Reade (1978, 139f.), Zimansky (1990, 9f.) and Liebig (1991, 33) locate Kilzanu on the southern shore of Lake Urmia (Reade 1979, 177f. cautiously considers the possibility that it included Hasulan as well). There is no evidence that Harrana, Sašgana and Gab'purisa (cf. above, 1.10.1) belonged to Kilzanu or were related to the Kilzanians (*pace* Billerbeck 1898, 155f.).

1. *A-su-a* of Kilzanu (Grayson 1996, 9; Shalm. III A.0.102.1, 38); *A-su-ü*, *A-sa-a-i* (Grayson 1996, 15; A.0.102.2, i, 28 and 21; A.0.102.2, ii, 61 resp.); *Su-i-a* the Kilzanian (Grayson 1996, 148f.; A.0.102.87, i), 859-856 B.C. (see Na'aman 1997; Zadok 1997b; Radner and Schmitt 1998b); 2. *U-pu-i* from Kilzanu, 828 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 71; A.0.102.14, 181). Both names are atypical.

3.3. *Ba-Sangibuti* (bare numbers refer to lines in Thureau-Dangin 1912, unless otherwise indicated)

This region was located east of Urartu, possibly south of Godar Chay according to Salvini 1982, 387. Zimansky 1985, 40ff.; 1990, 15 locates it more to the north, in the plain of Khoi (this is implied also by Liebig 1991, 35f.). The name of this region is preceded only once by Bit- (*kur-E-sa-an-gi-bu-i*, see Fuchs 1994, 429 and Vera Chamaza 1995-96, 106). The other three occurrences are without *Bit-* (Parpola 1970, 303).

1. *kur-Ba-ri* (188) was another designation of Bit-Sangibuti. 2. *kur-Da-la-A+A* (189) was a district of Bit-Sangibuti. Herzfeld (1938, 171) differentiates between this region and the homonymous western Median one (below, 7.3; cf. Arutyunyan 1985, 165f.). 3. *kur-A-mi-ä-ta-ni-a* was on the border of *kur-Sa-an-gi-bu-i* between *kur-Uš-ga-i-a* and 4. *kur-Tar-i-i* *kur-Tar-ma-ki-sa* (Tabriz according to Herzfeld 1938, 173 provided it is not a case of assonance) in *kur-Da-la-A+A* (184), *kur-A-mi-ä-ta-ni-a* is also listed among the settlements of Aiadi (284). 5. *Ul-hu* and 6. *kur-Sar-du-ri-hur-da* on the foot of 7. Mt. *Kiś-te-er* (212, Urart. cf. Grantovsky 1970, 276 referring to Melikšvili 1960, 411; Arutyunyan 1985, 207f.; Zimansky 1990, 18f.; Fuchs 1994, 443 compares 8. *kur-Kiś-paf*). On the peaks of 9. Mt. *Ar-za-bi-a* (21 settlements, a stereotypical number, viz. 7x3):

10. *kur-Hu-un-mu-ku*, 11. *kur-Ha-ar-da-mi-a*, 12. *kur-Gi-zi-ar-zi*, 13. *kur-Sa-a-zi-iš-sa*, 14. *kur-Hu-un-du-ur-na elü* (235; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 283ff.) is identified by Arutyunyan (1985, 233) with modern Kundur 40 km. from the northeastern corner of Lake Urmia, northwest of Tabriz and southeast of Marand.<sup>28</sup> [quasi-homonymous with Kunduri, c. 12 km. SE of Tabriz] 15. [...] *ä-ä*?, 16. *kur-Uš-at-zi-ur-na*, 17. *kur-A-ra-zi*, 18. *Älu ša* *kur-Si-ni-a*, 19. *kur-Hu-un-du-ur-na šaplu* (236); 20. *kur-El-...*, 21. *kur-...*, 22. *kur-Ši-li-tu-ar-zi*, 23. *kur-Zi-ir-ma*, 24. *kur-Si-ur-zi-i*, 25. *kur-El-ia-di-ni-a* (237); 26. *kur-Da-ag/k/q-...*, 27. *kur-...*, 28. *kur-Sur-zi-al-di-i*, 29. *kur-Ar-mu-na*, 30. *kur-Ki-in-ä-ta-ni-a* (238). Between Mt. *Ar-za-bi-a* and 31. Mt. *Ir-ti-a* (254; see Salvini 1982, 387a).

### 3.4. Mušasir and environs

#### 3.4.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

*kur-Mu-ša-šir-šir-i* (Urart. *Arđini*, i.e. 'the city' par excellence, see Salvini 1982, 389; Salvini 1993-97;

Russell 1984, 195f.; Boehmer 1993-97; Fuchs 1994, 451; Vera Chamaza 1995-96, 248ff.).

1. *kur-Zap-pa-ri-a*, 828 or 827 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 83; Shalm. III A.0.102.16, 325) — cf. Urart. *kur-Za-pa-jac-i-e*, modern Zibar west of the Greater Zab, 90 km. west of Uşnu (see Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 76); and perhaps 2. *kur-Si-ha-na* and (between Mušasir and Hiptana) 3. *kur-A-la-mu* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 139, 5 and 136, 5 resp.).

### 3.4.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Ur-za-na* ruler of Mušasir, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, xii, seal, 1; 309; see Fuchs 1994, 416), *Ur-za-an-na* (Parpola 1987, 30, 4'), *Ur-za-na*, *Ur-za-a* (*ni*), *Ur-za-na-a* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 245b with refs.); Urart. *Ur-za-na* (cf. Salvini in Pecorella and Salvini 1984, 93); Ofrani.

### 3.5. Sahi

*kur-Sa-hi* was presumably not far from Mannea (Kass/atyp.).

1. *Ga-a-gi* (atyp.), the city lord of Sahi (cf. Fabritius 1998a), is mentioned together with his sons 2. *S'Ša-ra-ti* (or *S'Ša-ra-a* [it]) and 3. *Pa-ri-hi-ha* after Birishadri of Media sometime between 663 and 649 B.C. (Borger 1996, 37-B iv, 4f.; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 116).

### 3.6. Kakkam

*kur-Ka-ak-me-e-mi-i* — Mannean name of Urartu according to Fuchs 1994, 440f. Astour 1987, 10 with n. 41 regards Kakkame as an archaic usage in NA royal inscriptions — but cf. *kur-Ka-ak-kam* just below, which seems to refer to a Median petty polity

1. *Äš-pa-ba-ra* of *kur-Ka-ak-kam* in Media, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 20), Ofrani.

### 3.7. Hubuškia and environs

#### 3.7.1. Hubuškia

##### 3.7.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

Presumably in the Hakkāri region (see Levine 1972-75d; Salvini 1982, 386; Russell 1984, 194ff.; Kleiss 1989; Liverani 1992, 24f.; Vera Chamaza



1995–96, 246f.), but Reade (1979, 178) proposes to locate Hubuškia “in the Ushnu-Rowanduz-Pizhder-Mahabad quadrangle” (see in more general terms Kinnier Wilson 1962, 108ff.). He is followed by Lanfranchi (1995, *passim*, esp. 137; cf. Liebig 1991, 33f.), but Medvedskaya (1997) vigorously advocates a location in the Hakkāri region. <sup>100</sup>*Hu-bu-ūš-ki-a* is defined as capital of Nairi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 306f.). <sup>101</sup>*Ši-la-ia* was a fortress of Hubuškia (Grayson 1996, 21; Shalm. III A.0.102.2, ii, 64).

### 3.7.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *A-pa-a* king of Hubuškia, sometime between 890 and 884 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 180; Tukulti-Ninurta II A.0.100.6, 4), atyp.; 2. *Ka-a-ki*, *Ka-ki-a* of Hubuškia, c. 857–852 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 8ff.; Shalm. III A.0.102.1, ii, 23 and A.0.102.2, i, 20 resp.), atyp.; 3. *Da-ta-na* of Hubuškia, 829–c. 819 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 82ff.; A.0.102.14, 161; 16, 296). *Da-ta-a* of Hubuškia (Grayson 1996, 70; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 177). *Da-di-i* the Hubuškian (Grayson 1996, 184; Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, ii, 37; see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998c), OIran.; 4. *Ja-an-zu-ū*, king of Hubuškia, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 306; Kass., see Brinkman 1976–80). It is doubtful whether [U]r-ma-ak-in-ri[nu], *la-ū* “<sup>102</sup>” [xxxx] and [A-ri]a-a-id-ri, who are mentioned in a damaged letter from Hubuškia (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 96, 7, 9, 11), actually originated from there.

### 3.7.2. Places near Hubuškia

1. <sup>103</sup>*Nu-ra-A+A* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 11 r. 5'; gent., not far from Hubuškia); 2. *Al-lu-ri-ū* — a mountain between Hubuškia and Mušasir (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 324); 3. <sup>104</sup>*A-ni-su* (Hurr.?) was presumably in the Pizhder valley (see Lanfranchi 1995, 136f.). It seems to be the precursor of the hypothetical centre of the region Ἀντιπύρ, which Hoffmann (1880, 249) sought in Rowanduz-Sidek, i.e. more to the west (cf. Medvedskaya 1997, 205).

### 3.8. Madahisa/Malhisia

On the way from Hubuškia to Mannea (cf. Streck 1899, 165f.; Lanfranchi 1995, 135); gent. <sup>105</sup>*Ma-da-hi-sa-A+A*, [<sup>106</sup>*Ma*]-*al-hi-s*[a-*A*]<sup>107</sup>*A*.

1. *Ma-ag-du-bi* <sup>108</sup>*Ma-da-hi-sa-A+A*, 829 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 70; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 163 in 82; A.0.102.16, 299; [<sup>109</sup>*Ma*]-*al-hi-s*[a-*A*]<sup>110</sup>*A*).

### 3.9. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (15 = 100%)

(a) **Old Iranian** (5 = 33.33%). 829–c. 819 B.C.: *Da-ta-na*, *Da-ta-a*, *Da-di-i* (3.7.1, 3, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998c); 714 B.C.: *Ur-za-na-a*, *Ur-za-(an)-na*, *Ur-za-(a)-ni* (3.4.2; \**Vizana*-, see Grantovsky 1970, 298ff.; 64, cf. Scheftelowitz 1905, 275); 711 B.C.: *Ās-pa-ba-ra* (3.6, 1). **Esarhaddon's time**: *Īs-pa-ka-A+A* (3.1.2, 1, see Diakonoff 1956a, 245f. with n. 5); *Bar/Pār-ta-tu-a* (3.1.2, 2; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b); (b) **Kassite** (1 = 6.66%): *la-an-zu-ū* (3.7.1, 4, originally a title); (c) **Atypical** (5 = 33.33%): *Su-iu-al*, *A-su-al*, *A-su-u-al*, *A-su-a-i* (3.2, 1; not Iranian as understood by Grantovsky 1971, 295). *Su-iu-a* the Kilzanean is homonymous and fairly contemporary with *Su-iu-a*, the city lord of Suhme in the heartland of Urartu (Grayson 1996, 20; Shalm. III A.0.102.2, ii, 46), but it is like *U-pu-i* (3.2, 2) and 3.5, 1, 3.7.1, 1, 2 – too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation; (d) **Unaffiliated** (4 = 26.66%): 3.1.3.2, 1; 3.5, 2; 3.3.8, 1. (e) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 6 = 40%; 744–705: 4 = 26.66%; 704–600: 5 = 33.33%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (6 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (16.66%); atypical 4 (66.66%); unaffiliated 1 (16.66%); 744–705 (4 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 (50%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (25%); unaffiliated 1 (25%); 704–600 (5 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 (40%); atypical 1 (20%); unaffiliated 2 (40%).

3.10. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (53 = 100%: 3.3, 15, 20, 21, 26, 27 are not counted)

(a) **Pre-first millennium** (1 = 1.88%): *Ka-ak-me-e/ni-i* (3.6) — *Ka-ak-me* is recorded as an anthroponym at OB Šušarā (Eidem 1992, 118, 5).<sup>111</sup> (b) **Old Iranian** (3 = 5.66%): *Ra-ma-da-ni* (3.1.1, 3) < \**Rāma-dāna* (Zadok 1979a, 301.5, but it is to be rendered as “resting-place, retreat”; for *-dāna*-cf. Eilers 1954, 334, n. 130). Regarding *Sa-an-gi-bu-te* (3.3), the spellings with *Šin-/Sun-* for the homonymous region *Sa-an-gi-bu-te/it* (7.3 below) do not preclude the Old Iranian etymology \*(*A*)*saṅgavati*– (see Herzfeld 1938, 173; Eilers 1954, 282 with n. 109; Grantovsky 1970, 229f.; and 4.12, a

below) as both are *CVC* signs which are indifferent to vowel quality. It is doubtful whether *Šin-gi*[-] refers to any of the regions; 3.1.1. (c) **Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 1.88%): *Ar-za-bi-a* (3.3, 7) may be Old Iranian according to Grantovsky (1970, 291ff.; 63), but Diakonoff 1985b, 602b considers the possibility that the word for “eagle” is originally Hurro-Urartian. The anthroponym *Ar-za-bu-ti* (cf. Kessler 1998a), which may have the same base, is hardly Iranian. (d) **Kassite**. **Just possible** (1 = 1.88%): *Ir-da-ra-A+A* (3.1.1, 5) may be a gentilic of *indar* (Balkan 1954, 78). **Doubtful** (2 = 3.77%): *Sa-hi* (3.5; cf. Balkan 1954, 114), but the name is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation. *Tar-i-i* Tar-ma-ki-sa (3.3, 4) is thought to be Iranian by Grantovsky (1970, 280.61f.). However, *Tar-i-i* resembles the first component of the Kassite anthroponym *Tarva-Sah* (cf. Balkan 1954, 84, 183). (e) **Hurro-Urartian** (2 = 3.77%): *Sar-du-ri-hur-da*, *U-lu* (3.3, 5, 6, cf. Grantovsky 1970, 276). **Doubtful** (10 = 18.86%): Is *Gil/Kil/Kir/Hab-za-nu* (3.2) based on a Hurr. *kelš* (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 225)? (with *z*, NA has only *ḫan-za-an* for *Anšān*, Parpola 1970, 20). *Si-it-ur-az-zu* (3.3, 22) — for *ar* cf. <sup>112</sup>*Gi-zu-ar-zu* (3.3, 12) and <sup>113</sup>*A-lu-ar-za*, <sup>114</sup>*Bal-du-ar-za* of Aiadi, where <sup>115</sup>*Ar-zu-gu* is recorded as well (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 281ff.). Does the anthroponym [Z]u-ar-zu-ar-za (Fales and Postgate 1991, 10, i, 6) end in this element as well? *Sur-zi-al-di-i* (3.3, 28) may end in *Haldi*. *A-ni-su* (3.7.2, 3) may be homonymous with the anthroponym *A-ni-su* from OB Alalah (Wiseman 1959, 28.269, 58; cf. also *A-ni-iš-ki-ba-al*, *A-ni-iš-hu-ul-pi*, Durand 1997, 643 with n. 581). *Da-la-A+A* (3.3, 2), cf. perhaps the anthroponym *Ta-le-e-ia* from MB Nuzi (Gelb et al. 1943, 262a) on the one hand and Ur III *Da-la-am* (Hilgert 1998, 304, obv. i, 20) on the other. For *A-lu-i-nu* (3.4.1, 3) cf. (with *-un* which is common in Hurro-Urartian toponymy) MA <sup>116</sup>*A-lu-mu-un* (Nashef 1982, 11; prob. on the Greater Zab). *Ši-la-ia* (3.7.1.1) is apparently based on *šil* (cf. Neu 1996, 62 with n. 12); 3.3, 16, 29. (f) **Atypical** (1 = 1.88%): *Bar-i* (3.3, 1) is not necessarily Iranian as understood by Grantovsky (1970, 280) seeing that it is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation, the more so in view of the occurrence of the name-component *-Ba(a)-ri* in the early NA toponym *Til-Bārī* referring to a place in northeastern Babylonia, a region without any Iranian toponyms. (g) **Akkadian-West Semitic** (1 = 1.88%): 3.7.2, 1. (h) **Hybrid** (Akkadian and non-Semitic: 1 = 1.88%): 3.3, 18 (not a genuine hybrid, cf. above). (i)

**Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (11 = 20.75%): <sup>117</sup>*A-ni-aš-ta-ni-a* (3.3, 3) is not necessarily Iranian as understood by Grantovsky 1970, 279. For *-tania* (extant in 3.3, 30 as well, for a different segmentation, viz. *Kin-astania*, see Balkan 1954, 192) cf. <sup>118</sup>*La-aps-ita-ni-a* of Unqi (Tadmor 1994, 148; Summ. 5, ii, 15). *Ar-mu-na* (3.3, 29) is actually homonymous with <sup>119</sup>*Ir-mu-na*, a town which was presumably situated between Ukkū and Dūr-Šarru-ukīn (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 288, 6; *a* > *i* is recorded in NA). Both settlements were situated in Hurro-Urartian regions. *Ar-i-i* (3.1.1, 4) is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation. *Arr-* is perhaps Hurrian (cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 205a) and is potentially pre-Iranian in view of *Ar-ra-d*/*Ar-ra-e*(?) from OB Šušarā (Eidem 1992, 88a with refs.). *Hir-un-du-i-nu* (3.3, 14, 19; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 283ff.) can be quasi-homonymous with the mountain *Ki-u-m-du-ur-ri-a/Kān-du-ri-a* in the Hurrian myth of Kumarbi (poss. related to Hurr. *kumari*, according to Otten 1976–80). *Ku-uk-ka-ba-a* (3.1.1, 1) may be compared with the female names *Ki-ku-ba* (see Durand 1997, 610, n. 166 ad Durand 1983, 664 ad 407, ii, 9) and MB *Ki-uk-ku-be-bi* from Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 85b; female names based on *kukk* are not infrequent at MB Nuzi, cf. Gelb et al. 1943, 229a); *Kiš-te-er*, *Kiš-pal* (3.3, 7, 8). Is *Zap-pa-ri-a* (3.4.1, 1) linguistically related to the anthroponym *Za-pa-ri* from OB Šušarā (Eidem 1992, 100a with refs.)? *Al-her-i-i* (3.7.2, 2) with a homonymous river *Al-lu-ri-a*, cf. the MB anthroponym *Al-lu-ri* (s. of Hu-un-i) from Tall Imlihiye (Kessler 1982, 77f.; 9 r. 4). *Muša-sir/si-ru* (3.4) is hardly Semitic (pace Astour 1987, 22, n. 133); the name of the Zaman river *Muša-si-na* (below, 8.9.2.2, 1) seems linguistically unrelated. (j) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (19 = 35.84%): *Hir-un-mu* (3.3, 10) renders \**Xarnaka* according to Grantovsky (1970, 296). However, Western Old Iranian has \**farnah*-. Only much later was Avestan *xr̥nah* adopted as a learned word in Western Middle Iranian. *Ma-da-hi-sa-A+A* [*Ma*]-*al-hi-s*[a-*A*]<sup>120</sup>*A* (3.8) is apparently with *d*/l interchange. The toponym is not Iranian (for such an interchange in Iranian see Eilers 1954, 322, 350, 361; 1956, 215). *Hu-bu-ūš-ki-a* (3.7.1, the segmentation implied by Astour 1987, 27, n. 176 is very uncertain), *Ir-ti-a* (3.3, 31; see Salvini 1982, 387a), *Ar-za-zu* (3.3, 17, cf. Zadok 1976a, 72, n. 126); 3.1.1, 2; 3.1.3.1, 1–7; 3.3, 11, 13, 23–25; 3.4.1, 2. (k) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 13 = 24.52%; 744–705: 33 = 62.26%; 704–600: 7 = 13.2%. **Ethno-**



**linguistic classification:** 1000–745 (13 = 100%): Hurro-Urartian? 2 (15.38%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 2 (%); unaffiliated and isolated 9 (69.23%); 744–705 (33 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 1 (3.03%); Old Iranian 1 (3.03%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (3.03%); Kassite? 1 (3.03%); Hurro-Urartian 2 (6.06%); Hurro-Urartian? 8 (24.24%); hybrid (Akkadian and Hurro-Urartian) 1 (3.03%); Akkadian 1 (3.03%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 8 (24.24%); unaffiliated and isolated 9 (27.27%); 704–600 (7 = 100%); Old Iranian 2 (28.56%); possibly Kassite 1 (14.28%); Kassite? 1 (14.28%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 2 (28.56%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (14.28%).

#### 4. GIZILB/PUNDA AND ENVIRONS

<sup>kur</sup>*Gi-zi-il-b/pu-un-di*, <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-zi-il-b/pu-un-da*, <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-zi-il-b/pu-un-da*, gent. <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-zi-il-b/pu-un-da-A* (Parpola 1970, 134 with refs.; cf. Streck 1900, 298f.; Röhl 1957–71) was located between Mannea/Missi and Media (in the Zanjan-Çai valley according to Diakonoff 1985a, 79; see Fuchs 1994, 435; Reade 1979, 176 locates it between Zanjan and the Caspian Sea).

#### 4.1. Sassias

##### 4.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

Gent. <sup>kur</sup>*Sa-si-a-šā-A*, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 185: Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 3f.; the mountain of antimony was presumably on the way from <sup>kur</sup>*Ni-na-ki* to S.). It can be compared with 1. <sup>kur</sup>*Sa-as-si-a-šū*, Tadmor 1994, 46; Ann. 10, 12; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 194; Kass.?, which is followed by 2. <sup>kur</sup>*Tu-ta-āš-dī*.

##### 4.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Ti-ta-ma-āš-ka* the Sasiaean.

#### 4.2. \*Karsib/putu

Gent. <sup>kur</sup>*KAR-si-b/pu-ta-A*, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between

821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 185: Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 5; poss. Olan.).

1. *Ki-a-ra* the Karsib/putean.

#### 4.3. Uras

<sup>kur</sup>*U-ra-āš*, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 185: Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 10).

1. *Pi-ri-šā-a-ti* (14), Olan.

#### 4.4. Šiba/ur (see Vera Chamaza 1994, 109)

##### 4.4.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-BAR-A* (gent.), end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 185: Šamši-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 19). The reading *Ši-maš* for *Ši-BAR*, which is suggested by Fuchs 1994, 459 assuming that Simaški is its forerunner,<sup>30</sup> is unlikely in view of the forms <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bu-ur* and <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bur(-A+A)* below, as well as <sup>kur</sup>*Šu-ba-r[a]* on the border of Saparda (Fuchs 1998a, 48 r. 8); 2. <sup>kur</sup>*Ni-ru-tak-ta* (Tadmor 1994, 70; Ann. 14, 10).

##### 4.4.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. <sup>kur</sup>*EN.URU*, end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., is probably not the ruler's name, but his Assyrian title, see Frahm and Fuchs 1998, who compare other cases of titles understood as anthroponyms by the Assyrians, viz. *Mari*, *Yanzi* and *Pir'u*. 2. *Ta-mu-us*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 71 ad Ann. 14\*, 12; Olan.; poss. ruler of Šibur according to Grantovsky 237; mentioned after <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bu-ur*).<sup>31</sup> T. is mentioned after a report (Tadmor 1994, 70; Ann. 14\*, 10f.) on Bur-da-da of <sup>kur</sup>*Ni-ru-tak-ta*. <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bu-ur* is mentioned immediately after the account of Bardada's capture, where it reported that his cities were destroyed, devastated and set on fire and <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bu-ur* was despoiled. 3. *Bar'-da-da* of <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-BAR* or *Bur-da-da* of <sup>kur</sup>*Ni-ru-tak-ta*, 737 B.C. (see Tadmor 1994, 107 ad St. II B, 34') is very probably the same person as *U-ar-da-at-[i]* (716 B.C., Levine 1972, 44, ii, 65) and *Bir-ta-tu* of <sup>kur</sup>*Ši-bur-A+A* (714 B.C., Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48; see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998m, 1; 1998r).

#### 4.5. Appatar

1. *Zi-zi-i* of <sup>kur</sup>*Ap-pa-tar*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 64; see Fuchs 1994, 417), atyp.; cf. 4.6 just below.

#### 4.6. Kit(i)pat(a)

<sup>kur</sup>*Ki-l'-ti-pā-ta*, <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-it-pat* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 71; poss. Kass.).

1. *Tu-na-ku* conquered Kitpat sometime before Tiglath-pileser III's campaign in 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 46; Ann. 11, 4), Olan. 2. *Za-la-A+A* of <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-it-pat-A+A*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 64). Both Zizi and Za-la-A+A are described as city lords of <sup>kur</sup>*Gi-zi-il-b/pu-un-di*. 3. *Bu-zi-i* (Olan.), an inspector (*qēpu*) from <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-l'-ti-pā-ta* (undated; Fales and Postgate 1995, 31, 5, who render *qēpu* as "delegate"; see Kessler [and Schmitt] 1998).

#### 4.7. (Bū-)Abdadani

##### 4.7.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>kur</sup>*Ab-da-da-ni* (poss. Kassite) was on the way from Parsua to Bit-Hamban (*Ha-ban*, Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 4f., see Vera Chamaza 1994, 106). It was in or near Gizilb/punda since that <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-i-pa-at-ti-a* (= Kitpat, 4.6 above) of Gizilb/punda belonged to Bit-Abdadani in Tiglath-pileser III's time (Tadmor 1994, 46; Ann. 11, 4, see Herzfeld 1938, 163). This is the earliest occurrence of the compound form <sup>kur</sup>*Bit(E)-Ab-da-da-ni* (also Thureau-Dangin 1912, 39). *Ab-da-da-ni* is possibly Kassite. The earliest occurrence of the toponym is Eg. *pḥn* in a Ramesside topographic list (end of the second millennium B.C., see Edel 1980, 66, 71f.). *Ab-da-da-na* is recorded in c. 1000–950 B.C. (Diakonoff 1978). Elamites and Lullubians are possibly mentioned in the same document as well as 1. <sup>kur</sup>*Ja-sub'-bu-A+A*.

##### 4.7.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Ši-i-i-ru-uh* (Elam?), c. 1000–950 B.C.; 2. *Mamu-kima-gabē* of Bit-Ab-da-da-ni, 744 B.C. (see Tadmor 1994, 51 ad Ann. 12, 11).

4.8. Mentioned together with *Bit-Abdadani* (both 744 B.C.; Tadmor 1994, 50; Ann. 12, 12)

#### 4.8.1. Halpij-...

1. *Mi-ki-i* (Hurr.?) of <sup>kur</sup>*Hal-pi-[-...]*.

#### 4.8.2. [...]

1. *U-zak-ku* of <sup>kur</sup>*[-...]*, Olan./pre-Iran.

#### 4.9. On the way to Bit-Abdadani

The two campaigns of Tiglath-pileser III to the Zagros (744 and 737 B.C.) and their long-term effect are discussed by Levine (1977b, 180f.); basically the Great Khorsan Road and around it, with the regions lying on the road itself turned into Assyrian provinces and the other entities subjected to Assyria as vassals.

4.9.1. Various locales (744 B.C.; Tadmor 1994, 46; Ann. 11, 1).

If <sup>kur</sup>*Ha-ar-šu*, which was situated between 1 and 2 below is identical with *Ha-ar-si* (1.8, 1), then the way from the western Zagros to Bit-Abdadani was partly controlled by Mannea in Ashurbanipal's time.

1. <sup>kur</sup>*Ku-ši-a-na-āš* (poss. = later <sup>kur</sup>*Ku-šā-na* according to Ivantchik 1993, 83 ad 185f.; 12), 2. <sup>kur</sup>*Ha-ar-šā-A+A* (originally a gentilic of *Ha-ar-šu*); 3. <sup>kur</sup>*Šā-na-āš-ti-ku*, 4. <sup>kur</sup>*Ki-ki-ta-ra*, 5. <sup>kur</sup>*A+A-i-ba-ak* — followed by 6. <sup>kur</sup>*Ha-li-ha-ad-tri* (see Streck 1900, 369f.) and *Uz-ha-tri* (cf. 4.9.2.1, 1 just below).

#### 4.9.2. Bit-Zatti

4.9.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

<sup>kur</sup>*E-Za-at-ri* (Tadmor 1994, 46; Ann. 11, 3; Olan.) included 1. <sup>kur</sup>*Uš/z-ha-ri* (perhaps = Sargonic *Zahara* presumably northwest of Elam, see Edzard, Farber and Sollberger 1977, 193 with previous lit.; possibly identical with *A-za-ha-ar*, a region of Simaški in the Ur III period, see Zadok 1991a, 229). Vallat (1993, 305, s.v. *Zahara*) is of the opinion that *Zahara* "doit être localisé en Baluchistan iranien au dans les environs immédiats". However, Vallat (1993, cxxivf.) does not



rule out an alternative localisation in western Iran. The fact that Sar-kali-Sarri mentions a victorious battle against Elam and Zahara in the neighbourhood of Aksak and Sakali seems to strengthen the case for a localisation of Zahara in northwestern Iran, provided the observation of Hallo (1957–71, 709) that Sakali is a veiled allusion to Qutium is correct.

#### 4.9.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

*Ka-ki-i*, ruler of Bit-Zatti or an adjacent place, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 46: Ann. 11.3), atyp.

#### 4.10. Uršanika

##### 4.10.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Uršanika* *Ur-ša-ni-ka*, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48: Ann. 11, 9 [his]; Orlan); 2. *Ki-AN-il-pal* was probably situated between *Uršanika* and Bit-Kapsi.

##### 4.10.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Mi-ta-a-ki*, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48: Ann. 11, 8), ruler (presumably of Uršanika), Orlan.

#### 4.11. Bit-Kapsi and environs (737 B.C., Tadmor 1994, 70: Ann. 14, 10f.)

##### 4.11.1. [xx]-x-ru-ta

1. *Ur-šu-ru-ū*, Orlan.

##### 4.11.2. Bit-Kapsi (=É-kap-si/DUMU=Kap-si, see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107: quoted with modern *Qazvin* by Reade 1979, 180, provided it is not a case of assonance)

#### 4.11.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *Kar-ka-ri-hu-in-dir* (Tadmor 1994, 49: Ann. 11.11), 2. *Abi-ri-ru-uh* (cf. 4.12.2 just below).

#### 4.11.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. *Ba-at-ta-a-ni DUMU=Kap-si*, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48: Ann. 11.10; see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998q), Orlan; 2. *Upa-da DUMU=Kap-si* sought refuge on Mt. *Abi-ri-ru-uh* in 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 70: Ann. 14, 9 = 88: Ann. 14, 7); 3. *Pa-a-uk-ku* of *É-kap-si*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45), Orlan.

#### 4.12. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (20 = 100%)

(a) **Old Iranian** (8 = 40%): End of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.): *Pi-ri-sā-a-ki* (4.3, 1) < *\*Pari-s(y)āti* (Grantovsky 1970, 195f:14); **744 B.C.**: *Ba-at-ta-a-ni* (4.11.2.2, 1, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998q); *Mi-ta-a-ki* (4.10.2, 1; see Grantovsky 1970, 233); *Tu-na-ku* (4.6, 1; see Grantovsky 1970, 227:39); **737 B.C.**: *Ta-mu-us* (4.4, 2) < *\*Tamu-* "body" (see Grantovsky 1970, 237); *U-si-ru-ū* (4.11.1) < *\*Hus-sra-vah-* (see Zadok 1996); **714 B.C.**: *Pa-a-uk-ku* (4.11.2.2, 3); **Undated**: *Bu-zi-i* (4.6, 3; see [Kessler and] Schmitt 1998); **Doubtful** (1 = 5%): *Bar-sa-da-da* *Bur-da-da* *Bir-ta-tu*, *Ur-ar-da-at-ti* (4.4, 3; 737–714 B.C.; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998m, 1, 1998r: "Iran."?). In view of the last spelling, it may be based on *vr-* "to increase, thrive"; cf. Av. *varādahta* "Wachstum, Zunahme, Mehrung", with NA < *bu-* for Orlan. /va/ (the CVC signs *BAR/BIR/BUR* are indifferent to vowel quality) if one accepts that NA < *bu-iv-* renders *-vati-*, cf. *ad* *\*KAR-si-bi-pu-ta-A* (gent., 4.2) < *\*Karsivati-* "ploughman" (see below, 4.13, e) and *\*Sa-ar-gi-bu-te* (3.3) < *\*A(s)angavati-* "rich in stones" (see Herzfeld 1938, 173; Eilers 1954, 282 with nn. 108, 109; Grantovsky 1970, 229f.). If this interpretation is correct, then *Ur-ar-da-at-ti* looks like the primary form compared with *Bar-sa-da-da* *Bur-da-da* *Bir-ta-tu*. It is noteworthy that the spellings *Bar-sa-da-da* *Bur-da-da* resemble *Bir-sa-da-da*, the NA rendering of Aram. *\*Br Dd* (cf. Zadok 1978a, 57f., 62, 106ff., and [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998m, 1). Are we to deal here with a folk etymology made by Aramaic-speaking Assyrian scribes? (b) **Old Iranian or pre-Iranian** (1 = 5%): *U-zak-ku* (4.8.2.1) < Orlan. *\*Auja-ka* (Zadok 1996, 13), but cf. *U-zak-ka* from OB Šušarra (Eidem 1992, 135, 20); (c) **Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 5%): *Mi-ki-i* (4.8.1.1), cf. MB Nuzi *Mi-ki-ia*, *Mi-ki-ki-ia* (to mikk "Hur."?) according to Gelb *et al.* 1943, 234b); (d) **Elamite**? (1 = 5%): *Ši-lis-ru-uh* (4.7.2, 1; cf. Diakonoff 1978, 61) *-ruh* is productive in the Elamite onomasticon (cf. Zadok 1984a, 36f.; 200), but *šilis* is so far not recorded in Elamite; (e) **Atypical** (3 = 15%): *Ka-ki-i* (4.9.2.2), *Zi-zi-i* (4.5, 1), both short and ubiquitous; *Za-la-A* (4.6, 2; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 204); (f) **Akkadian** (2 = 10%): 4.4, 1 (title) and 4.7.2, 2; (g) **Unaffiliated, but not isolated** (1 = 5%): *Ki-ara* (4.2, 1); (h) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (2 = 10%): *Ti-*

*ta-ma-as-ka* (4.1.2, 1) is hardly Iranian despite Hüsing 1900b, 567f. (cf. Grantovsky 1970, 195). Grantovsky (1970, 237f.:40) thought that *U-pa-as* (4.11.2.2, 2) starts with Orlan. *upa-*, but what follows *upa-* did not receive an adequate explanation. The name is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation. (f) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745 = 25%; 744–705 = 15 = 75%; **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (5 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (20%); Elamite? 1 (20%); Akkadian title 1 (20%); unaffiliated 2 (40%); 744–705 (15 = 100%): Old Iranian 8 (53.33%); Old Iranian or pre-first millennium 1 (6.66%); Hurro-Urartian? 1 (6.66%); atypical 3 (33.33%); Akkadian 1 (6.66%); unaffiliated 1 (6.66%).

#### 4.13. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (25 = 100%: 4.8.1; 4.8.2; 4.11.1 and 4.12.2, 4 are not taken into account)

(a) **Pre-first millennium** (1 = 4%): *Ab-da-da-na*, *Ab-da-da* (a-ni) (4.7.1; < anthroponym; cf. Balkan 1954, 29; Grantovsky 1970, 177; Zadok 1979a, 294:1, despite Hinz 1975, 17). (b) **Gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym** (1 = 4%): *Ha-ar-sā-A* (4.9.1, 2; cf. *Ha-ar-šū*; cf. 1.14 above). (c) **Pre-first millennium?** (1 = 4%): 4.9.2.1, 1; (d) **quasi-homonymous with a pre-first millennium toponym?** (1 = 4%): *Gi-zi-il-bi-pu-un-da-di* (4), cf. Ur III *Gi-zi-il* (Edzard and Farber 1972, 62f.) on the Iranian Plateau (in messenger texts; once preceded by NIM) and perhaps Sarg. *Gi-zi-zi-il-ni* (Edzard, Farber and Sollberger 1977, 61; alternatively related to *Gi-zi-in-ni*, cf. below, 6.11), but a physical identity cannot be demonstrated; (e) **Old Iranian** (1 = 4%): *É-Zu-at-ti* (4.9.2.1) < *\*Zata-* (presumably originally an anthroponym, see Grantovsky 1970, 228:40); **Just possible** (2 = 8%): *Taš-ur-ša-ni-ka* (4.10.1, 1; see Grantovsky 1970, 233; prob. not related to the Ur III toponym *Ur-ša-ar-pa*, cf. Astour 1987, 22, n. 129); *KAR-si-bi-pu-ta-A* (gent., 4.2; see Herzfeld 1938, 166; cf. Eilers 1954, 333 with n. 108; Grantovsky 1970, 193:13); **Doubtful** (1 = 4%): *Abi-ru-uh* (cf. 4.11.2.1, 2; < *\*Abi-rau-ah-*?); (f) **Kassite** (1 = 4%): *la-subl-bu-A-A* (4.7.1, 1; see Diakonoff 1978, 63 *ad loc.*); **Just possible** (3 = 12%): *Sa-as-si-a-si* (4.1.1, 1; with *-uāš*), *Ki-il-pat* (4.6; *Ki-il-pa-at-ti-a* is possibly a NA *nisbe*, cf. Balkan 1954, 172, s.v. *pa-ta* and Zadok 1995a, 442; hardly Orlan, despite Grantovsky 1970, 194); *Ha-li-ba-ai-ri* (see below, 6.10, b); (g) **Unaffiliated, but not**

**entirely isolated** (4 = 17.39%): *Kar-ka-ri-hu-in-dir* (4.11.2.1, 1) was compared by Billerbeck (1898, 1898, 79, n. 2) with *Hu-in-dir*. *Kar-ka-ri* apparently consists of a reduplicated syllable, like the base of *Gi-ir-gi-ra-a* (below, 6.2.4, pos. an onomatopoeic-acoustic name, cf. Eilers 1954, 341, n. 149 *in fine*); *Ki-AN-il-pal* (4.10.1, 2; cf. Mt Kīšpal with Streck 1900, 337, n. 37); *U-ra-dā* (4.3) is possibly Iranian according to Grantovsky 1970, 203:15, but compare the MA/MB toponym *Urašite* from the second half of the second millennium B.C., which may be quasi-homonymous (referring to a mountain range in northeastern Babylonia near the Assyrian border, see Nashef 1982, 272f.; Deller and Postgate 1985, 75f.; cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 273a). *Ki-šā-ina-dā* (4.9.1, 1, based on a form like *Ki-šā-ia*, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 230f.; cf. Balkan 1954, 152) ends in *-nāš*, cf. MA *Kullāšīnāš*, *Mu(r)qumāš* (Nashef 1982, 171, 197f.; Zadok 1995a, 443, and perhaps Balkan 1954, 169); (h) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (9 = 36%): *Kap-si* (4.11.2) has no convincing Iranian etymology (cf. the attempt of Grantovsky 1970, 233; with the reading *kab-si* it would be due to NA popular etymology). *Ši-bu-ir* (gent. *Ši-bur/BAR-A*), *Šu-ba-r[a]* (4.4) is hardly Kassite (despite Grantovsky 1970, 203). The Iranian etymology of *Ni-ru-tak-ta* (4.4.1, 2) suggested by Grantovsky (1970, 240), is very doubtful; 4.1.1, 2; 4.5; 4.9.1, 3–5. (i) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745 = 7 = 28%; 744–705 = 18 = 72%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (7 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 1 (14.28%); quasi-homonymous with a pre-first millennium toponym? 1 (14.28%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (14.28%); Kassite 1 (14.28%); possibly Kassite 1 (14.28%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 1 (14.28%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (14.28%). 744–705 (18 = 100%): Pre-first millennium? 1 (5.55%); gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym 1 (5.55%); Old Iranian (presumably originally an anthroponym) 1 (5.55%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (5.55%); Old Iranian? 1 (5.55%); possibly Kassite 1 (5.55%); Kassite? 1 (5.55%); Hurro-Urartian? 1 (5.55%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 3 (16.66%); unaffiliated and isolated 7 (38.88%).

#### 5. EASTERN MEDIA

5.1 and 5.2, 5.3 are described as "distant Medes" in Borger 1956, 34; Kich A, 32f. and 54; Nin. A, 35



respectively (time of Esarhaddon). Vallat (1993, xxxviii) advocates a location of 5.1 in Khorasan, 5.1.1, 2 in Badakhshan and 5.3 in or near the Pamir.

### 5.1. Patušarra

#### 5.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Pa-tu-iš-ar-ra-ri* (Olan.) bordering on the 2. Salt Desert (*Bit-iābri*, *Ē MUN*) and 3. *Bi-ig-kū-ni-mu*. The latter (also Tadmor 1994, 295, index, s.v.) is hardly the forerunner of Aḫaiva of Ptolemy (*paca Vera* Chamaza 1994, 110; for a plausible localisation of Aḫaiva see Andreas 1893, who is followed by Herzfeld 1938, 175f.; cf. Eilers 1954, 339f., n. 147). *Bi-ig-kū* may be identical with modern Alvand according to Levine 1974, 118f., but if the identity of Ramanda with modern Rāmand is correct, then a more easterly location (beyond the Alvand) for *Bi-ig-kū* (such as Demavand, see Winckler 1889, 1, xxvii, n. 3; cf. Billerbeck 1898, 93f.; Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1) is required.

#### 5.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *E-pa-ar-na-ni* (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998y) is mentioned together with 2. *Ši-dir-pa-ar-na-ni* (both Olan.) or alone (*E-pa-ār-na*, Starr 1990, 64, 10).

### 5.2. Urakzabarna (east of Arazāš, see Billerbeck 1898, 76)

1. *Ra-ma-te-ia* (Olan.) city lord of *U-ra-(a)-ka-za-bar-na* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 34); *Ra-ma-ta-A* city lord of *U-ra-ka-za-bar-na* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108).

### 5.3. Partakka

*Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka*, *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 33; Olan.).

1. *Up-pi-is* (Olan.?) city lord of *Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 32; cf. 111: Frt. E, obv. 3: [...]) city lord of *Pa-ra-tuk* (text: *Ni-ka*);

2. *Za-na-sa-na* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 33; Olan.?) city lord of *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka*.

### 5.4. Other districts (time of Tiglath-pileser III)

#### 5.4.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Uš-qaq-qa-na* (Olan.) and 2. *Ši(-)ik-ra-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 32). The latter may be identical with *Ši(-)ik-ra-ā* (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 42') seeing that according to the photograph (pl. 37), there is enough room to restore *[-ki]* on the edge and near it. Cf. perhaps Old Elam. *Ši-ik-ra* [...] (Farber 1975, 81, 83f., r. iii', 25'; Vallat 1993, 241, s.v.). 3. *Ti(-)ik-ra-ak-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 166; Summ. 7, 37) is recorded in the same summary inscription before Bit-Istar, Šibur, Ariarmi, Māt-tarlugallē, and Silhazī — are to be sought in inner Media. The same may apply to Tīkrakki. The latter was regarded as a variant of *Ši(-)ik-ra-ki* (see Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107 in fine; Grantovskiy 1970, 241ff.), but they are not necessarily identical according to Tadmor 1994, 166 *ad loc.*

#### 5.4.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

[...]-x'-ba-a of *Ši(-)ik-ra-ā* [-ki(?)]) (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 42').

### 5.5. Perhaps in this region or more to the west

#### 5.5.1. Andarpatianu

*An-dar-pa-ti-[a-mu]* is mentioned together with the Salt Desert in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 5; no clear geographical context, see Streck 1900, 358f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 110, n. 283 in fine). Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2) makes the unfounded statement "not far from Qazvin".

1. *Ma-š-dak-ku* of *An-dir-pa-ti-a-mu*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48), cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2; 2. *Pa-ar-ku* [-k'(?)] from *An-dir-pa-ti-a-mu*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b.25).

#### 5.5.2. Karzitali (time of Esarhaddon)

*Kar-zī-ta-li* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; *Kar-zī-ta-li* [...], *Kar-zī-ta-li* [...]) (poss. Kass.) is mentioned after the Salt Desert and before *E-pa-ār-na* (of Patušarra, 5.1.2 above) in the damaged text Starr 1990, 64. Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2; 108) was of the opinion

that Karzitali was apparently near Šibur and might have belonged to the province of Harhar (without foundation).

1. *Bur-da-di* city lord of Kar-zī-ta-li (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998m, 2). It is also mentioned together with the Salt Desert, Andarpatianu and Bit-Tatt[...], in a damaged text (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

#### 5.5.3. Bit-Tatt[...]

*Ē-ma-at-[-i-xxxx]* is mentioned together with the Salt Desert and Andarpatianu in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

### 5.6. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (8 = 100%; 5.4.2 is not counted)

(a) Old Iranian (5 = 62.5%): 714 B.C.: *Ma-š-dak-ku* (5.5.1, 1, see below, 7.16). *Esarhaddon's time*: *E-pa-ar-na-ni*, *E-pa-ār-na* (5.1.2, 1; see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a'), *Ši-dir-pa-ar-na-ni* (5.1.2, 2) < \**Čitra-famah-* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 261; cf. Schmitt 1992b); *Ra-ma-te-ia*, *Ra-ma-ta-A* (5.2, 1) < \**Rāma-ta(ya)* in view of the variant *Ramatia* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3), but the reconstruction of the second component is not certain in view of spellings such as *Ra-me-mi-ti*, *Ra-ma-ti-i* for a homonym (7.6.2, 4 below). *Bur-da-di* (5.5.2, 1) cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998m, 2). *Doubful* (2 = 25%): *Za-na-sa-na* (5.3, 2) < \**Zana-sāna-* (cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 276; Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3 [for non-Iran, with reduplicated syllables and dissimilation of sibilants?]); *Up-pi-is* (5.3, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 237f.). (b) Unaffiliated (with a reduplicated syllable): 1 = 12.5%: 5.5.1, 2. (c) Summary. Chronological distribution: 744-705 = 2 = 25%; 704-600 = 6 = 75%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (2 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (50%); unaffiliated 1 (50%). 704-600 (6 = 100%): Old Iranian 4 (66.66%); Old Iranian? 2 (33.33%).

### 5.7. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (11 = 100%)

(a) Pre-first millennium? 1 (0.99%): *Ši(-)ik-ra-ki* (5.4.1, 1) of Old Elam. *Ši-ik-ra* [...] is a precursor thereof. (b) Old Iranian (3 = 27.27%): *Pa-tu-iš-ar-ra-ri* (5.1.1, 1) < \**Pāuš(h)ar-* (see Scheffelowitz

1905, 274; Eilers 1971); *Pa-ar-tak-tak-ka*, *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka* (5.3; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 263; apparently the same toponym as the CVC-signs *TAK/TUK* are indifferent to vowel quality) - cf. [...]*Pa-ar-ta-ka-na* (6.9.3.5?); *Uš-qaq-qa-na* (5.4.1, 1, see Zadok 1979a, 301.7); *Doubful* (2 = 18.18%): *Bi-ig-kū-ni-mu* (5.1.1, 3) < \**Bigna-* ? (see Hüsing 1900, 127); for other suggestions see Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1 in fine. If *Ti(-)ik-ra-ak-ki* (5.4.1, 3) is not identical with *Ši(-)ik-ra-ki*, then it would be homonymous with *RAE Ti-ik-ra-ki* (Vallat 1993, 279, s.v. *Tīrak(k)āš*), see Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1633). (c) Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym; 1 = 9.09%): Possibly *Ta-ar-[-i-xxxx]* (5.5.3, if correctly restored). (d) Kassite (1 = 9.09%): *Kar-zī-ta-li* (5.5.2) seems to contain the Kassite element *karzi* (Balkan 1954.61, cf. Holscher 1966, 118f.). However *-ta-li* is poorly documented, cf. perhaps *Kita-li* (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 262a); *kīp-* is extant not only in Hurrian names, but perhaps also in names from Marhaši and Gasur (see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 227b). (e) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian (1 = 9.09%): *An-dir-pa-ti-a-mu*, *Andar-pa-ti-[a-mu]* (5.5.1; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2) may contain *andar* (cf. Hur. *antar*, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 201a; Balkan 1954, 153 has only *-indar*, but the interchange *a-i-* is recorded in NA). (f) Akkadian (1 = 9.09%): *Bi-ig-ābri* (5.1.1, 2) is merely a generic term. (g) Unaffiliated and isolated (1 = 9.09%): *U-ra-(a)-ka-za-bar-na*, *U-ra-ka-za-bar-na* (5.2) was etymologised as \**Vrka-zarna-* by Herzfeld 1938, 170 (cf. Hinz 1975, 271) with a far-fetched conclusion regarding its localisation (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108), but <*U-ra-(a)-ka-*> cannot render \**Vrka-*, and the reconstruction of *-za-bar-na-ni* is questionable. The name is more likely non-Iranian. (h) Summary. Chronological distribution: 744-705 = 6 = 54.54%; 704-600 = 5 = 45.45%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (6 = 100%) : Pre-first millennium? 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian? 2 (33.33%); Kassite/Hurrian 1 (16.66%); Akkadian 1 (16.66%). 704-600 (5 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 (40%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (20%); possibly Kassite 1 (16.66%); unaffiliated 1 (20%).

### 6. "INNER" MEDIA

(in contradistinction to Syromedia, cf. Forrer 1921, 93f.; Diakonoff 1956a, 339; a rather vague term; including also geographically unspecified locales)



respectively (time of Esarhaddon). Vallat (1993, cxxxviii) advocates a location of 5.1 in Khorasan, 5.1.1, 2 in Badakhshan and 5.3 in or near the Pamir.

### 5.1. *Panšarra*

#### 5.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Pa-ta-uš-ar-ra-ri* (Olan.) bordering on the 2. Salt Desert (*Bi-šābri*, *É MU(N)*) and 3. *Bi-ig/k-ni-nu*. The latter (also Tadmor 1994, 295, index, s.v.) is hardly the forerunner of Ἀβασσα of Ptolemy (*pace* Vera Chamaza 1994, 110; for a plausible localisation of Ἀβασσα see Andreas 1893, who is followed by Herzfeld 1938, 175f.; cf. Eilers 1954, 339f., n. 147). Big/kni may be identical with modern Alvand according to Levine 1974, 118f., but if the identity of Ramanda with modern Rāmand is correct, then a more easterly location (beyond the Alvand) for Big/kni (such as Demavand, see Winckler 1889, 1, xxvii, n. 3; cf. Billerbeck 1898, 93f.; Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1) is required.

#### 5.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *E-pa-ar-na-ni* (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998y) is mentioned together with 2. *Ši-dir-pa-ar-na-ni* (both Olan.) or alone (*E-pa-ār-na*, Starr 1990, 64, 10).

### 5.2. *Urakzabarna* (east of Arazšā, see Billerbeck 1898, 76)

1. *Ra-ma-te-ia* (Olan.) city lord of *U-ra-(a)-ka-za-bar-na* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 34); *Ra-ma-ta-A* city lord of *U-ra-ka-za-ba-nu* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108).

### 5.3. *Partakka*

*Pa-ar-tak/tāk-ka*, *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 33; Olan.).

1. *Up-pi-i* is (Olan.?) city lord of *Pa-ar-tak/tāk-ka* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 32; cf. 111; Frt. E, obv. 3; [...] city lord of *Pa-ara-tuk* (text: *NI-ka*);

2. *Za-na-sa-na* (Borger 1956, 54; Nin. A, iv, 33; Olan.?) city lord of *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka*.

### 5.4. *Other districts (time of Tiglath-pileser III)*

#### 5.4.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *Uš-qaq-qa-a-na* (Olan.) and 2. *Ši(i)-ik-ra-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 32). The latter may be identical with *Uš-Šik-ra-ā* (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 42') seeing that according to the photograph (pl. 37), there is enough room to restore *-[k]* on the edge and near it. Cf. perhaps Old Elam. *Ši-ik-ra* [...] (Farber 1975, 81, 83f., r. iii', 25'; Vallat 1993, 241, s.v.), 3. *Tr(i)-ik-ra-šak-ki* (Tadmor 1994, 166; Summ. 7, 37) is recorded in the same summary inscription before Bit-İstar, Šibur, Ariarmi, Māt-tarlugallē, and Silhazī — a list of places where Tiglath-pileser III erected his royal image. All these places — except for Silhazī — are to be sought in inner Media. The same may apply to Tikkraši. The latter was regarded as a variant of *Ši(i)-ik-ra-ki* (see Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107 in *fine*; Grantovskiy 1970, 241f.), but they are not necessarily identical according to Tadmor 1994, 166 *ad loc.*

#### 5.4.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

[...] *Ši-ba-a* of *Uš-Šik-ra-ā* [*ki* (?) ] (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 42').

### 5.5. *Perhaps in this region or more to the west*

#### 5.5.1. Andarpatianu

*An-dar-pa-ti-[a-nu]* is mentioned together with the Salt Desert in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 5; no clear geographical context, see Streck 1900, 358f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 110, n. 283 in *fine*). Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2) makes the unfounded statement "not far from Qazvin".

1. *Ma-ās-dak-ku* of *An-dar-pa-ti-a-nu*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 48), cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2; 2. *Pa-ar-ku-k-a* (?) from *An-dar-pat-ti-a-nu*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b.25).

#### 5.5.2. Karzitali (time of Esarhaddon)

*Kar-zi-ta-li* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6); *Kar-zi-ta-li* [...], *Uš-ka-zi-ta-li* [...] (poss. Kass.) is mentioned after the Salt Desert and before *E-pa-ār-na* (of Patušarra, 5.1.2 above) in the damaged text Starr 1990, 64. Diakonoff (1985a, 103, n. 2; 108) was of the opinion

that Karzitali was apparently near Šibur and might have belonged to the province of Harhar (without foundation). 1. *Bur-da-di* city lord of *Kar-zi-ta-li* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6; cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998m, 2). It is also mentioned together with the Salt Desert, Andarpatianu and Bit-Tatt[...], in a damaged text (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

#### 5.5.3. Bit-Tatt[...]

*É-ta-at-[i-i-xxxx]* is mentioned together with the Salt Desert and Andarpatianu in a damaged text from Esarhaddon's reign (Starr 1990, 64, 8; no clear geographical context).

### 5.6. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (8 = 100%; 5.4.2 is not counted)

(a) Old Iranian (5 = 62.5%): 714 B.C.: *Ma-ās-dak-ku* (5.5.1, 1, see below, 7.16).- **Esarhaddon's time:** *E-pa-ar-na-ni*, *E-pa-ār-na* (5.1.2, 1; see Fuchs and Schmitt 1998a), *Ši-dir-pa-ar-na-ni* (5.1.2, 2) < \**Čiθra-farnah* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 261; cf. Schmitt 1992b); *Ra-ma-ti-ia*, *Ra-ma-ta-A* (5.2, 1) < \**Rāma-tan(i)a* in view of the variant *Ramātia* (see Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3), but the reconstruction of the second component is not certain in view of spellings such as *Ra-me/mi-ti-i*, *Ra-ma-ti-i* for a homonym (7.6.2, 4 below). *Bur-da-di* (5.5.2, 1) cf. Fuchs and Schmitt 1998m, 2).- **Doubtful** (2 = 25%): *Za-na-sa-na* (5.3, 2) < \**Zana-sāna*? (cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 276; Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 3 [or non-Iran, with reduplicated syllables and dissimilation of sibilants?]); *Up-pi-i* (5.3, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 237f.).- (b) Unaffiliated (with a reduplicated syllable): 1 = 12.5%: 5.5.1, 2. (c) Summary. Chronological distribution: 744-705: 2 = 25%; 704-600: 6 = 75%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (2 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (50%); unaffiliated 1 (50%). 704-600 (6 = 100%): Old Iranian 4 (66.66%); Old Iranian? 2 (33.33%).

### 5.7. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (11 = 100%)

(a) Pre-first millennium? 1 (9.09%): *Ši(i)-ik-ra-ki* (5.4.1, 2) if Old Elam. *Ši-ik-ra* [...] is a precursor thereof.- (b) Old Iranian (3 = 27.27%): *Pa-ta-uš-ar-ra-ri* (5.1.1, 1) < \**Pāuš(h)ivar-* (see Scheffelowitz

1905, 274; Eilers 1971): *Pa-ar-tak/tāk-ka*, *Pa-ar-ra-tuk-ka* (5.3; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 263; apparently the same toponym as the CVC-signs *TAK/TUK* are indifferent to vowel quality) - cf. [...]*Pa-ar-ta-ka-nu* (6.9.3.5?); *Uš-qaq-qa-a-na* (5.4.1, 1, see Zadok 1979a, 301.7).- **Doubtful** (2 = 18.18%): *Bi-ig/k-ni-nu* (5.1.1, 3) < \**Bigna-*? (see Hüsing 1900, 127); for other suggestions see Eilers 1954, 309, n. 1 in *fine*.- If *Tr(i)-ik-ra-šak-ki* (5.4.1, 3) is not identical with *Ši(i)-ik-rāk-ki*, then it would be homonymous with *RAE Tr-ik-rāk-ka* (Vallat 1993, 279, s.v. *Trakrak(ka)*), see Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1633).- (c) Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym; 1 = 9.09%): Possibly *Ta-at-[i-i-xxxx]* (5.5.3, if correctly restored).- (d) Kassite (1 = 9.09%): *Kar-zi-ta-li* (5.5.2) seems to contain the Kassite element *karzi* (Balkan 1954, 61, cf. Holscher 1996, 118f). However *-ta-li* is poorly documented, cf. perhaps *Kip-ta-li* (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 262a); *kip-* is extant not only in Hurrian names, but perhaps also in names from Marāši and Gasur (see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 227b).- (e) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian (1 = 9.09%): *An-dar-pa-ti-a-nu*, *Andar-pa-ti-[a-nu]* (5.5.1; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 262, n. 2) may contain *andar* (cf. Hurr. *antar*, Gelb *et al.* 1943, 201a; Balkan 1954, 153 has only *-indar*, but the interchange *a/i* is recorded in NA).- (f) Akkadian (1 = 9.09%): *Bi-šābri* (5.1.1, 2) is merely a generic term.- (g) Unaffiliated and isolated (1 = 9.09%): *U-ra-(a)-ka-za-bar-na*, *U-ra-ka-za-ba-nu* (5.2) was etymologised as \**Vrka-zama-* by Herzfeld 1938, 170 (cf. Hinz 1975, 271) with a far-fetched conclusion regarding its localisation (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 108), but <*U-ra-(a)-ka-*> cannot render \**Vrka*, and the reconstruction of *-a-ba-bar-na-nu* is questionable. The name is more likely non-Iranian. (h) Summary. Chronological distribution: 744-705: 6 = 54.54%; 704-600: 5 = 45.45%. Ethno-linguistic classification: 744-705 (6 = 100%): Pre-first millennium? 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian 1 (16.66%); Old Iranian? 2 (33.33%); Kassite/Hurrian 1 (16.66%); Akkadian? 1 (16.66%). 704-600 (5 = 100%): Old Iranian 2 (40%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (20%); possibly Kassite 1 (16.66%); unaffiliated 1 (20%).

### 6. "INNER" MEDIA

(in contradistinction to Syromedia, cf. Forrer 1921, 93f.; Diakonoff 1956a, 339; a rather vague term; including also geographically unspecified locales)







*gi-ra-a*) 7. <sup>100</sup>Ki-im-ba-az-ha-ti (737 B.C.; Tadmor 1994, 70. Ann. 14\*, 7).

#### 6.4. Mentioned together with Bit-Kapsi

1. <sup>100</sup>Bit(Ē)-Ūr-zak-ki (Tadmor 1994, 296 with refs.; Orlan.). 2. <sup>100</sup>Bit(Ē)-Sa-an-gi (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Orlan) is neither the same as *Bit-S-Šak-ki* (7.1.1, 3 below; pace Diakonoff 1956a, 160, n. 4) nor is it identical with Bit-Sangibuti (see below, 7.3).

#### 6.5. Bit-Istar and environs

##### 6.5.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>100</sup>Bit(Ē)-a-Ūr/ININ (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46, see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is not mentioned in ME "together with Bit-Tazzaki" (pace Diakonoff 1978, 64, who followed König 1965, 129, n. 9). ME has <sup>100</sup>Bi-it-ta-sak/ris-EŠŠANA (Vallat 1993, 49, s.v. *Bit-Tasak-sarri*), which has nothing to do with *Bit-Taz-zak-ki*; the latter can be read <sup>100</sup>Bit(Ē)-Ūr-zak-ki (6.4, 1 above).

##### 6.5.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Bur-bu-ra-zu* of Bit-Istar, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46), poss. Kass.

##### 6.5.3. Sagbita

<sup>100</sup>Sag-bi-ta on the way from Gizilb/punda (Šibar) to Araziaš was the capital of 1. *Ha-na-si-ri-ka* (no *Personenkeil*) the Mede (<sup>100</sup>Ma-ta-A+A; end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s, presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 185f.; Šamiš-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 32). This capital is not necessarily identical with *Bit(Ē)-sa-ag-ba-at* (despite Streck 1900, 330), which reflects a different form.

#### 6.6. Amate and environs

1. *La-bi'p(sic)-ta-ar-Ūr*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 72 ad Ann. 15, 5; after a lacuna it is reported in line 6 that [L?] escaped to <sup>100</sup>Ma-ta-te, a district opposite the Ru-ū-a mountains — same name as *la-ū-ti-bit-ir* of <sup>100</sup>A-1[ma] (Tadmor 1994, 107 ad St. II B, 33').

##### 6.6.1. Toponymy

<sup>100</sup>Ru-ū-a-Ūr/Ū-a (Tadmor 1994, 296, s.v.), Orlan/atyp.

#### 6.7. Localisation and attribution to this region tentative

##### 6.7.1. Niššā

<sup>100</sup>Ni-ššā-A+A, <sup>100</sup>Ni-ššā-šā-a (Tadmor 1994, 132 ad Summ. 3, 7' and 164:Summ. 7, 30 resp.). Νισσαον πεδίων, was possibly northeast of Ecbatana (cf. Streck 1900, 332; Hanslik 1936; Orlan.). A more specific localisation, viz. with Dastabā, was suggested by Schwarz (1910–36, 5, 554f.; with many homonymous places, cf. Eilers 1987, 65, 70 on the one hand and Bailey 1975, 309f. on the other), but Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 57 advocate an identification with Missi (Messi)). Like Νισσαον πεδίων, Missi was famous for its horses ("Missean"), (<sup>100</sup>Me-sa-A+A, e.g., Kataja and Whiting 1995, 88 r. 9; 90, 9.12.r.3; 104, r. 2.6; 109, 8.15.r. 5). However, this is hardly a valid criterion for an identification, as several regions of Greater Media supplied horses: for instance, Kushite horses from <sup>100</sup>Par-su-a are mentioned in Kataja and Whiting 1995, 104, 8.

##### 6.7.2. Urem/nzan

<sup>100</sup>Ū-re-em-za-an, <sup>100</sup>Ū-re-en-[za-an] (Tadmor 1994, 164:Summ. 7, 30 and 132:Summ. 3, 7' resp.; Orlan.?)

##### 6.7.3. Ra'usan

<sup>100</sup>Ra-ū-sa-an (Orlan.?) may belong here if the sequence Šibur, Uremzan, Ra'usan in the Summary inscription Tadmor 1994, 164:Summ. 7, 30 is significant.

##### 6.7.4. Išteuppu

<sup>100</sup>Is-te-up-pu (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 18) is perhaps homonymous with <sup>100</sup>Is-ta-ip-pa of Zig/k/qirtu (above, 1.5.1, 5; see Levine 1977a, 141). It is not clear whether it is identical with <sup>100</sup>Is-ta-hup, which is recorded in a damaged letter (Parpola 1987, 32, 8) dealing with Urartu and mentioning a Mannean emissary (cf. Saggs 1958, 199 ad ND 2608 = NL 46).

1. *Is-te-si-ku* of <sup>100</sup>Is-te-up-pu, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 18).

##### 6.7.5. Gizinkissi/Nikisi

<sup>100</sup>Ni-ki-si is perhaps the same as <sup>100</sup>Gi-zi-ni-ki-si/Gi-zi-ni-ki-si (Tadmor 1994, 132: Summ. 3, 7'; 164: 7, 30; cf. 297 bottom, index s.v.) according to Tadmor 1994, 106 ad St. II, B, 32'. The latter is definitely non-Iranian (Zadok 1979a, 300.4) and (pace Streck 1900, 332), probably not identical with the later Ganjzaka (OSyr. Gręg/k, Jewish Aram. Gręk), Arab. *Ganzak*<sup>10</sup> (or *Kaznā*) in Atropatene (modern Taht-i Soleiman southeast of Maragheh, see Weissbach 1910), which is an Iranian toponym.

1. *Ūš-ru-ū* of <sup>100</sup>Ni-ki-si (737 B.C.), Orlan.

##### 6.7.6. Kāribtu

<sup>100</sup>Ka-rib-ti (Starr 1990, 44 = Ivantchik 1993, 224f.: 28; Esarhaddon's time). The fact that Kāribtu was threatened by Kaštariti of Kār-Kašši and its Akkadian name may favour a location somewhere in western Media.

#### 6.8. Unspecified Median rulers

Media (<sup>100</sup>Ma-da-ta-A+A, see Fuchs 1994, 444f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 103ff.);

<sup>100</sup>A-ma-da-A+A (Grayson 1996, 68:Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 121; see Grantovskii 1970, 111).

##### 6.8.1. Esarhaddon's reign

*Ma-mit-ar-šūi*, [*Ma-mi*]-ti-ar-šūi, ally of Kaštariti of Kār-Kašši (Starr 1990, 41, 4, 7).

##### 6.8.2. Ashurbanipal's reign

*Bi-ri-is/si-ha-ad-ri* city lord of Media, sometime between 663 and 649 B.C. (Borger 1996, 37: B iv, 3; C, iv, 130), Kass.?

6.9. No geographical context (exclusively in lists — cf. the methodological remarks of Levine 1974, 106 — except for 6.9.1.7.2, 6.9.4.2 which are recorded in a letter and a query to Šamaš respectively)

##### 6.9.1. 737 B.C.

6.9.1.1. QARŌISERA

1. *ŪK-sa-tar* of <sup>100</sup>Qar-ŷi-šē-ra (Tadmor 1994, 106: St. II, B, 33'), Orlan.

##### 6.9.1.2. KIRKU[.]

1. *A-ma-ku* of <sup>100</sup>Kir-ku-x (Tadmor 1994, 106:St. II, B, 34') is homonymous with the toponym 6.9.3.1 below.

##### 6.9.1.3. KAZUONZANI

1. *Ra-ma-te-ia* of <sup>100</sup>Ka-zu-qin-za-ni (Tadmor 1994, 106:St. II, B, 36'), Orlan.

##### 6.9.1.4. MišTA

1. *Ū-ta-na* of <sup>100</sup>Mi-šī-ta (Tadmor 1994, 106: St. II, B, 39'), Orlan.

##### 6.9.1.5. WIZAKKA(?)

1. *A-mi-ta-na* (Orlan.) of <sup>100</sup>Ū-i-zak-ka(?) (Tadmor 1994, 106:St. II, B, 40').

##### 6.9.1.6. URBA[.]

1. [...]-par-mu (the restoration [Ša-ta]- is unfounded) of <sup>100</sup>Ur-ba-x (Tadmor 1994, 106:St. II, B, 41'), Orlan.?

##### 6.9.1.7. APINUNU and BIRTU of ZABZIQI

##### 6.9.1.7.1. TOPONYMY

1. <sup>100</sup>A-pi-mu-mu (Saggs 1974, 210 and pl. 36: NL 100, 8) is mentioned together with 2. <sup>100</sup>Bir-te ša <sup>100</sup>Zab-zi-qi (hardly for *Erinciqi*, cf. Tadmor 1994, 49 ad 12).

##### 6.9.1.7.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

[B]ir-an-ba-ri-[āš], [<sup>100</sup>A(?)-pi(?)-n(?)-a?)-na-A+A, time of Tiglath-pileser III (Saggs 1974, 211 ad 12; Baker 1998a), Kass.

##### 6.9.2. 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43ff.; line in brackets)

##### 6.9.2.1. MĀLU (KASS.)

1. *Ū-zi-i* of <sup>100</sup>Ma-a-li (43), Orlan.

##### 6.9.2.2. NAPPI

1. *Ū-a-ki-ir-tu* of <sup>100</sup>Na-ap-pi (44), Orlan.

##### 6.9.3. 711 B.C. (refs. are to Fuchs 1998a)

##### 6.9.3.1. AMAKKI

1. *Ma-āš-da-ku* (Orlan.) of <sup>100</sup>A-ma-ak-ki (41, vi.b, 17). The toponym is homonymous with the anthroponym 6.9.1.2, 1 above.



## 6.9.3.2. HA[X]TAKANA

1. [*Up-pa-am-ma-a*] from *\*Ha-[x]-ta-ka-sa-ra* (41, vi.b, 16 with n. 118), Olan.

## 6.9.3.3. [J]SÂNĀ

1. *Šis/or Ku?\*-tir-n'a* of *\*[x(x)]-sa-n'a-a* (40, vi.b, 15 with n. 117).

## 6.9.3.4. ZAKAKNU

1. [...] of *\*Za-za-ak-nu* (41, vi.b, 35).

## 6.9.3.5. PARTAKĀNU

1. [...] of *\*Pa'-ar-ta-ka-nu* (41, vi.b, 37).

## 6.9.4. In Esarhaddon's reign

## 6.9.4.1. IZAYYU

1. [...] city lord of *\*I-za-a-A* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

## 6.9.4.2. AMUL

*\*A-mul* (Starr 1990, 63, 3, 5; [...], 10, 11 [*bi*; once: [...], 13; *\*[x]*; r. 11, 12, 13) is not *Amol* in Hyrcania (< Olan. *\*Amra-l*).

6.10. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (33 = 100%; 6.1.4, 1; 6.1.8, 1; 6.1.10, 1; 6.2.6, 1; 6.9.3.3, 1; 6.9.3.4, 1; 6.9.3.5, 1; 6.9.4.1, 1 are not taken into account)

(a) **Old Iranian** (16 = 48.48%). **737 B.C.**: *A-ma-ku* (6.9.1.2, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) is homonymous with the Old Iranian toponym 6.9.3.1 above. *A-mi-ta-na* (6.9.1.5, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247; [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998c), *Ra-ma-te-ia* (6.9.1.3, 1, cf. above, 5.6, a), *U-ta-na* (6.9.1.4, 1, see Zadok 1986, 247), *\*U'-sa-ra* (6.9.1.1, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 70f., 316.74; cf. Zadok 1976c, 388, n. 14), *Uš-ru-ū* (6.7.5, 1, see Zadok 1996), **716 B.C.**: *Ši-tir-pa-šu-ra-a* (6.1.9, 1) < *\*Čitra-pa-šu-ra-a* (with haplography, cf. Zadok 1976c, 388b), **716-711 B.C.**: *Sa-tar-ha-pa-nu* (6.1.3.2, 1) < *\*Xsathra-pāna* (see Scheffelowitz 1905, 275; Zadok 1976c, 388, cf. *Sa-tar-pa-nu*, Grantovsky 1970, 68, 71, 74, 209, 316, 323f.); *Za-ar-du-duk-ka-a*, *Za-ar-du-uk-ku* (6.1.5, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 253); *Uš-ra-a* (6.1.1.2, 1) < *\*Ušra* 'red' (cf. Zadok 2000a, n. 4), **714 B.C.**: *U'-a-ki-ti-ru* (6.9.2.2, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 318.79); *U'-zi-i* (6.9.2.1, 1) < *\*Uzaya* (see

Grantovsky 1970, 236f.48). **711 B.C.**: *Ar-ba-ku* (6.1.9, 2) < *\*Arba-ka* (see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b; cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 275), *Ma-šā-du-ku* (6.9.3.1, 1, see below, 7.16); [*Up-pa-am-ma-a*] (6.9.3.2, 1) < *\*Upama* 'uppermost' (Tallqvist 1914, 270b [cf. 242b]; 'Iran, upama 'summit'': see Grantovsky 1970, 237f., 328; Hinz 1975, 244 with lit.). **Esarhaddon's reign**: *Ka-šā-ta-ri-ti*/*Kaš-ta-ri-ti* (6.2.3, 3); < *\*Xsathra* (see Justi 1895, 176a; Hüsing 1900b, 563f.; cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 104f., 106). **Doubtful** (4 = 12.12%): **737 B.C.**: Does [...] *\*pa-ru-nu* (6.9.1.6, 1) end in *farnah-šā*? **716 B.C.**: *Šum-m[u]-uš-ral-a* (6.2.3, 1), **714-711 B.C.**: *Hir-Sar-ru-ti* (6.1.2.2, 1) and *U'-zu-ma-an-da* (6.2.2, 1, see Grantovsky 1970, 325 and 236f., 318.85 resp.). (b) **Kassite** (5 = 15.15%): *Bur-bu-ra-zu* (6.5.2, 1), is in all probability Kassite (Zadok 1976c, 388a, followed by [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998s), cf. [*Bi-ir-an-šā-ri-š*] (6.9.1.7, 2), on which Baker 1998a states: 'Aram. with Kassite divine name or purely Kassite'. The second alternative is the only plausible one as pointed out by Zadok 1976c, 388a. The translation offered by Baker 'Son of Barias' (following Saggs 1974, 211 ad 12) should therefore be eliminated. *Bur-bu-a-zu-su* (6.1.2.1, 1; 6.2.3, 2; 6.2.5, 1) is very probably the outcome of *Bur-bu-ra-zu* with *-r > o-*. **Doubtful** (1 = 3.03%): The same shift can be exemplified by *Bi-ri-is/šā-ha-ad-ri* (6.8.2) and *Bi-si-ha-dir* (7.4.1.2, 1). Both *Bur-bu-ra-zu* (a compound) and *Bi-ri-is/šā-ha-ad-ri* (prob. such, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) have two *r*-s. Is it an indication that the latter is also Kassite? The fact that *ha-ad-ri* is preceded by *Ha-li* in the toponym *Ha-li-ha-ad-ri* (above, 4.9.1, 6) may strengthen the case for a Kassite derivation. (c) **Hurro-Urartian?** (3 = 9.09%): *Is-te-šū-šā-ka*, *Is-te-šū-uk-ka* (6.1.6, 1; 6.9.1, 1; an element *is-* seems to be discernible in Urartian toponymy, see 1.14 above), *A-i-a-ri-sa-ar-nu* (6.1.6, 2; cf. [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998b) — *A-i-a-ri* looks like Hurr. *avar* 'field' (but such an element is recorded in toponymy rather than anthroponymy) if not a variant of *evri* 'lord' (cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 210f., s.v. *evri*) and *-sa-ar-nu* may be compared with *šarni* (see Richter 1998, 133 and MB Nuzi *\*šar-ni-ta-ki* in Assyria, Fincke 1993, 247; for the second component cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 261f., s.v. *tak* (-take), *takk*). (d) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (4 = 12.12%): *Ak-ku-usu* (6.2, 4, 1; cf. Lapinkivi 1998) is perhaps Elamite according to Grantovsky 1970, 325, but this is very doubtful. The Old Iranian etymology of *Ma-mit-ar-šū*, [*Ma-mi-ti-r-šū*] (6.8.1), which is suggested by Grantovsky (1970,

325), is implausible as NA <ma> cannot render Olan. *Av-*, *Ha-na-si-ri-ka* (6.5.3, 1) — NA <g> does not render — for all we know — any Old Iranian phoneme. In addition, it is unlikely that the Assyrian scribe used a rare value for *SI* (such as *zi*) for a foreign name. Therefore the attempt at an Old Iranian etymology done by Grantovsky (1970, 204f.; 209; 252) is unsuccessful; 6.6, 1. (e) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 1 = 3.03%; 744–705: 29 = 87.87%; 704–600: 3 = 9.09%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (1 = 100%): Unaffiliated. 744–705 (29 = 100%): Old Iranian 15 (51.72%); Old Iranian? 4 (13.79%); Kassite 5 (17.24%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (10.34%); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 2 (6.89%). 704–600 (3 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (33.33%); Kassite? 1 (33.33%); unaffiliated 1 (33.33%).

## 6.11. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (50

= 100%; 6.1.4, 6.1.8, 6.1.10, 6.1.11, 2; 6.2.1.1, 6.2.6, 6.9.1.2, 6.9.1.6, 6.9.3.2, 6.9.3.3 are not taken into account)

(a) **Homonymous with pre-first millennium names?** (2 = 4%): *Mi-si-ta* (6.9.1.4) is possibly pre-Iranian (cf. perhaps the anthroponym *Mi-šā-šā-ka* from MB Nuzi [Hurr. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 235a]) rather than Olan. *\*Masita* (see Zadok 1986, 247). *A-mul* (6.9.4.2), cf. perhaps the Ur III anthroponym *E-mul/mu-ul* (D'Agostino 1998, 56, v, 2; 58, v, 3; both messenger texts; the interchange *a/e/i* is recorded in NA). (b) **Old Iranian** (6 = 12%): *Ra-ma-an-da* (6.1.7) derives from *\*hrem-*, [...]*pa-ar-ta-ka-mu* (6.9.3.5), cf. 5.3. *Ma-da-ta-A+A*, *A-ma-da-A+A* (6.8; see Grantovsky 1970, 111); for *a*-see Streck 1899, 139, n. 1; Zadok 1978d, 164f., n. 3 and cf. *\*E-a-šil-a-ni* (Frace 1999, 47 < *Bit-Silāni*); *a*- is extant as early as Old Assyrian, cf. *a-ba-ru-lim* for OB *pa-ru-lil* (CAD B, s.v. *burull*, cf. Bilgic 1954, 75; Hecker 1968, 15, 7c), *A-hu-ru* (see [Berlejung and] Zadok 1998), *A-šā-ka* < Eg. *Siha* (left unexplained by Radner 1998). For *Ni-šā-šā-a* (6.7.1; *Ni-šā-a+A* is presumably adapted to the NA gentile form) see Scheffelowitz 1905, 274; Grantovsky 1970, 240; Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107; 1987, 64ff. on the one hand and Bailey 1975, 309f. on the other. **Originally anthroponyms:** (a) **Preceded by Bit-**: *Ur-zak-ki* (6.4, 1) < *\*Pz-aka* (see Zadok 1979a, 300.3); (β) **Homonymous with anthroponyms:** *A-ma-ak-ki* (6.9.3.1) < *\*Ama-ka* is homonymous with the

anthroponym 6.9.1.2, 1 above. **Just possible** (7 = 14.28%): *U'-zak-ka?* (6.9.1.5), poss. < *\*Vij-aka* (see Zadok 1986, 247.3; cf. Eilers 1954, 333f., n. 125; 344f., n. 158; 1987, 50). *Ra'-u-sa-an* (6.7.3) may render *\*Raušāna* (see Zadok 1981–82, 137; cf. Zadok 1976a, 76.9). *E-sa-an-gi* (6.4, 2, see Grantovsky 1970, 229.42); less likely originally an anthroponym. *Ba-ri-ka-a-nu* (6.1.3.1, 1), probably ends in *-akānu*, which is common in Old Iranian toponymy (Zadok 1976c, 388a). It may be homonymous with the hypothetical Old Iranian source of the ethnonym Παρσάκων/Παρσάκων. *Pir-na-ka-an* (6.1.2.1, 2) may end in the same suffix (based on *\*Farnah-? CVC* signs like *PIR* are indifferent to vowel quality). *Ša-ka-a* (6.1.3.1, 2), which is recorded as early as 716 B.C., can render *\*Saka* 'Scythian' (cf. Mayrhofer 1973, 8.1478), in which case it would be the earliest attestation of this group in Media. *K'a-ta-mu* (6.1.6) — if the reading is correct, then it may be an *-āna* (pro-) patronymic of *\*kaita*, cf. Av. *kaēta* 'astrologer' or sim. (cf. Gershevitch 1967, 156f.; Grantovsky 1970, 267). *K'a-ta-mu* is less likely pre-Iranian (cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 222a, s.v. *kai*; *Qa-i-i-ta*). **Very doubtful** (2 = 4%): *U're-em-za-an* (6.7.2, see Diakonoff 1956, 203, n. 2). *Ru-ū-a*/*Ru'-u-a* (6.6.1) may render *\*Ruvah* (Zadok 1986, 247), but is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation (cf. below, j). (c) **Perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised** (1 = 2%): *Kār-ka-si-a* (6.2.3) — Grantovsky (1971, 322, n. 18) suggests an Iranian etymology, viz. *\*Ka(h)kayā*, in which case *Kār-ka-si-i* 'Wall of the Kassites' would be a folk etymology made by the Assyrian scribes. (d) **Kassite** (2 = 4%): *Ma-a-li* (6.9.2.1, cf. Balkan 1954, 164f., s.v. *mal* 'man'), *Sog-bi-ta* (6.5.3), *E-sa-ag-ha-at* (7.4.4) are different forms, but have the same base (see below, 7.17). Both are hardly 'pre-Median' (Frace Medvedskaya 1995 and Diakonoff 1996, 133). **Doubtful** (1 = 2%): *Kar-zi-mu-ū* (6.1.2.1, 1) may begin with *kar-zi* (cf. above, 5.7, d). It is written *Kar-zi-nu* in the section of the Sargon Geography (Horowitz 1998, 74, 57, cf. 90, 93) which includes the Lullubians and several regions ending in *yaš*, viz. *Ak-ri-ia-āš*, *Qul-ī-āš*, *S'šur-gi-ni-ia-āš* and *Ha-am-du-ki-ia-āš*. **Very doubtful** (1 = 2%): *U'-rat-ti-ia*, *U'-ra-ta-an* (6.2.1) linguistically related to the toponyms MB *Pu-ur-rat-taš*, *\*Pu-ur-rat-taš*, MA *bu-ur-rat-taš*, ME *[mu]-ur-rat-taš* (in northeastern Babylonia in the piedmont of the Zagros) and *Pu-ur-rat-taš*/*Abi-rat-taš* (Balkan 1954, 45, 93, 98, see Nashef 1982, 197f.) or a later form of



them? (e) *Kassite or Hurro-Urartian?* (2 = 4%): *Ki-in-di-gi-a-su* (6.3, 2) ends in either *-yaš*, in which case it might be Kassite, or perhaps *Hurr. -kiaše*. *Gi-zi-in-ni-ki-is-si* (6.7.5) — *ki-is-si*, *ki-zi-zi* appears in Kassite and Hurrian names (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 228 and Balkan 1954, 64f.). Are *Gi-zi-in-ni-* and *Gi-ni-zi-* (above, 2.3.16) linguistically related (with a metathesis)? (f) *Hurro-Urartian* (2 = 4%): *A+A-la-i-a* (6.1.11, 1) is linguistically related to *wa-A-A-le-e* of Armarli in Urartu (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 271; cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 219a, s.v. *jal-?*). *Is-te-up-pu* (6.7.4) is perhaps homonymous with 1.5.1, 5. (g) *Atypical* (3 = 6%): *I-za-A* (6.9.4.1) is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation, cf. the anthroponym *I-zi-ia* (late OB, Eidem 1992, 137, 4; Salvini 1996, 61, iv, 10); *Gi-in-ki-ir* (6.2.5) = *Gi-ir-gi-ra-a?* cf. above, 4.13); 6.2.4. (h) *Akkadian* (2 = 4%): *Bit-lštar/lšsar* (6.5.1) was hardly renamed by the Assyrians as assumed by Billerbeck (1898, 84 with n. 3), since we happen to know that Median places which were renamed by the Assyrians generally begin with *kār* (+ DN or RN). *Kāribtu* (6.7.6) denotes 'greeting, blessing' (also recorded as a NB/LB anthroponym). (i) *Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated* (5 = 10%): *Ki-in-ka'-an-gi* and *Ki-in-gi-al-ka-si-iš* (6.3, 1, 3) begin with *kingi-* (cf. above, 2.6, e). *Ka-(an)-za-ba-ka-ni* (6.1.1.1, 2) may be based on *kanz-* (cf. *ad kinz* above, 2.6, e). Does *Da-tu-um-bu* (6.1.1.1, 1) have the same ending as *Putumbi* (on the way from the Patni to Halman, W.G. Lambert *apud* Klengel 1965, 361)? *Ki-si-la-ha* (6.2.2, for *lah(a)*) cf. Zador 1991a, 227). (j) *Unaffiliated and isolated* (14 = 28%): The homonymy of *A-ma-te' / A'-[ma]* (6.6) and neighbouring *Ru-i-a* (6.6.1) with two coeval Aramean tribes in Babylonia (cf. Zador 1985b, 56, 69) seems coincidental. The same applies to the resemblance of *Ha-ar-zi-a-nu*, *Ha-ar-zi-a-mi* (6.1.5) with OA *Ha-ar-zi-wu-lu-na* in central Anatolia (Nashef 1991, 54f.). The comparison of *U-pu-šir* (6.3, 5) with the anthroponym *U-pa-šir* (4.12.2, 2), which was made by Billerbeck (1898, 85), is based on assonance. *A-pi-mu-mu* (6.9.1.7.1, 1) — for OIran. *api-* cf. D.N. Mackenzie *apud* Saggs 1974, 211 *ad* 8, but what follows is hardly Old Iranian. 6.1.9, 6.2.5, 6.3, 4, 6, 7 (cf. Diakonoff 1985a, 56, n. 1), 6.9.1.1, 6.9.1.3, *Zab* (hardly for ERIM)-zi-qi (6.9.1.7.1.2), 6.9.2.2, 6.9.3.4. (k) *Summary. Chronological distribution:* 1000–745: 2 = 4%; 744–705: 44 = 88%; 704–600: 4 = 8%; *ethno-linguistic classification:* 1000–745 (2 = 100%) = Old Iranian 1 (50%); Kassite? 1 (50%); 744–705 (44 =

100%): Homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (2.27%); Old Iranian 8 (18.18%); possibly Old Iranian 7 (15.9%, of which at least 2, i.e. 4.54% are originally anthroponyms); Old Iranian? 1 (2.27%); Kassite? 2 (4.54%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.54%); Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.54%); atypical 1 (2.27%); Akkadian 1 (2.27 %); unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 5 (11.36%); unaffiliated and isolated 14 (31.81%); 704–600 (4 = 100%): quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (25%); perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (25%); atypical 1 (25%); Akkadian 1 (25%).

## 7. WESTERN MEDIA

7.1. *Namri and Bit-Hamban* (see Levine 1973, 22f.; Herzfeld 1968, 23f. followed by Reade 1978, 137f.: Namri in the Mahidašt).

### 7.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy (1–4 in Namri, 5 in Bit-Hamban)

1. *Si-hi-šā-la-ah*, 2. *Bit(Ē)-Ta-mul* (cf. *E-sa-mul* of Harhar with Streck 1900, 348, n. 23); 3. *Bit(Ē)-s/sak-ki*, 4. *Bit(Ē)-še-e-di* (Grayson 1996, 68; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 14f.; 835 B.C.). A watercourse in Namri is simply designated as *I-Nam-ri-te* in Grayson 1996, 40; A.0.102.6, iv, 10 (cf. Levine 1973, 23). According to the same source (iv, 5ff.), Bit-Hamban was situated east of Namri: Shalmaneser III reached Namri from Abadani via *Ha-ban* in 843 B.C. Babiluni did not belong to Mannea (despite Boehmer 1964, 17), but is the Urartian name of Namri according to Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 17f., s.v. Babilu (for another opinion see below, 7.4.4); 5. *Bit(Ē)-Šu-uh* (Esarhaddon's reign; Starr 1990, 38 r. 3) is juxtaposed with Bit-Hamban. 7. *Ir-Šu(?)* *mu* is mentioned in the same letter as *Ha-ban*, but there is no geographical information (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 226, 11). 8. *Bit-Nergal* (see below, 7.1.2).

### 7.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Marduk-mudammig* controlled also Bit-Nergal, Suhurzu and Niqu (in Tupilas) in 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 7, 13);

2. *Ia-an-zi-uk* — king of Namri, 842–835 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 67f.; A.0.102.14, 112) was originally from Bit-Hamban (*DUMU* *\*Ha-an-ban*, Grayson 1996,

67; A.0.102.14, 95; Kass., see Brinkman 1976–80, 259).

### 7.2. Suhurzu (*Suha/iurzu*)

#### 7.2.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

The reading 1. *Šu-hur-zu* (rather than *Šu-mur-zu*, Tadmor 1994, 304 with refs.), gent. *Šu-Šur-hur-za-A* (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 12, 4) is preferable in view of the MB anthroponym *Šu-hur-zi* from Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 135b, 258b). *Šu-hur-za* was situated in Tupilas (Grayson 1996, 40; Shalm. III A.0.102.6, iv, 14; 828 B.C.). Tupilas (Tub/pilās or Tug/kilās, for *b/g*, *p/k* see Kinnier Wilson 1962, 113), which was basically a Kassite region, is merely a geographical term. It was in all probability adjacent to Namri, presumably more to the southwest. *Šu-hur-zu* is mentioned in a letter dealing with an Assyrian camp in 2. *Ura-mu* (poss. near Bit-Barrū, see Parpola 1987, 15 *ad* 13, 4, 9, time of Sargon II). Urammu is hardly identical with MB Ullamme which was in the Nuzi region (see Fincke 1993, 319ff.).

#### 7.2.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Tu-ni-i* the Suhurzean (ruler, 744 B.C.), Kass.

### 7.3. Bit-Sangibuti

Billerbeck (1898, 80f.) erroneously identified this region (not the Urartian homonymous one) with Bit-Sangi. He is followed by Levine (1977a, 142f.) and Diakonoff (1991, 16 with n. 11; cf. Vera Chamaza 1994, 105f.). Both regions must be differentiated, seeing that they are listed together twice in one and the same summary inscription: Tadmor 1994, 164f.; 29f., 34f. has Bit-Sangibuti and Bit-Sangi. *Šu-Sa-an-gi-bu-te-ti*; *Šu-Sin-gi-bu-te*, gent. *Šu-Sin-gi-bu-ta'-A'-A'* (Tadmor 1994, 98 *ad* St. I, B, 15'; cf. 296, index, s.v. Bit-S.; OIran.; *Šu-Sin-gi-bu-ti* (Harper 1892–1914, 174, 11; Medes and *Šu-Sa-la-[-]* are mentioned; it is doubtful whether *Šu-Sin-gi-[-]*, 1224, r. 3, belongs here as well) belonged to either Bit-Hamban or Harhar according to Fuchs 1994, 445.

1. *Da-su-uk-ku* (see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998); pre-Iran.) and 2. *Ki-ba-bi-še* (Parpola 1987, 14, 13; both 707 or 706 B.C.) lived in either Bit-Sangibuti or Ellipi.

### 7.4. Kišesi(m) and environs

#### 7.4.1. Kišesi(m) "proper"

*Šu-Ki-še-si-si*, *Šu-Ki-še-si*, *Šu-Ki-še-si-im*, *Šu-Ki-še-si-im*, *Šu-Ki-še-si-si* was a city (renamed *Kār-Nergal*) and an Assyrian province in Media (Parpola 1970, 210f. with refs.; Fuchs 1994, 443). Levine (1977b, 181) locates it in the general vicinity of the Mahidašt. Perhaps it was in or near modern Najafabad (15 km. northeast of Kangāvar). The location suggested by Diakonoff (1991, 16, 18), viz. on the upper reaches of the Sefid-rud east and north of Harhar is unfounded.

#### 7.4.1.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

*Šu-Hu-un-dir* (Levine 1972, 38f., ii, 36, 37) might have been the capital of Kišesi — if we rely on the fact that Sargon II encamped there when he conquered Kišesi — perhaps at or near Najafabad, according to Reade 1995, 39 (cf. Fuchs 1997–98, 405f.).

#### 7.4.1.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy of rulers

1. *Bi-si-ha-dir* *Šu-Ki-še-sa-A*, 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 11, 12), Kass.? 2. *Bēl-šarra-ušur*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 38, ii, 36).

#### 7.4.1.3. HUNDREANS/HARHARITES IN ASSUR

Hundereans/Harharites are recorded in the city of Assur during the last generation of the Assyrian empire. They were presumably descendants of people from the Median provinces. It cannot be proven that their ancestors were deportees, as this seems incompatible with the Assyrian tendency to deport peoples from the east to the far west rather than to Assyria proper. Judging from their names, which are typical to the city of Assur, they were already culturally assimilated with the Assyrians. Only very few anthroponyms, exclusively fathers' names, are non-Semitic. This is expected as their ancestors presumably settled in Assur several generations earlier, in the last decades of the eighth century B.C. at the latest. However, a certain degree of cohesion is easily discernible among the Hundereans/Harharites, whose designation was transformed from an ethno-linguistic into a professional one, presumably 'specialist porters' (see Postgate 1995, 405f.). What is presented below is not a comprehensive prosopography of the Hundereans/Harharites, but several individuals with noteworthy names and designations.



<sup>hw</sup>GAL <sup>hw</sup>Hu-<sup>ti</sup>im-dir-A+[A] (poss. sometime between 647 and 612 B.C., see Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 88 ad 39, 7); Aššur-šilik-pāni s. of Šumma-Aššur <sup>hw</sup>Har-har-A+A, 630–622 B.C. (see Radner 1998e). <sup>hw</sup>Har-har-A+A acted as a principal in a damaged deed which is witnessed, among others, by Lā-turammāni-Aššur (date lost); <sup>hw</sup>Bi-ir-na-a acted as a witness (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 87f.; 39, 10); <sup>hw</sup>Pir-na-a[() f. of Šumma-[Aššur], 642 B.C. (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 36, see Deller 1984, 238); Ba-tu-tu s. of <sup>hw</sup>Pi-ir-a-na-a (619 B.C.; Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 109f.; 52, 16f.; 136; App. 2, r. 4'f.) is etymologised as West Semitic by Zadok *apud* Deller 1984, 239, n. 54. <sup>hw</sup>Bi-ir-na-a (641 B.C.) was perhaps a Hunderian (cf. Berlejung 1998). Šumma-Aššur s. of <sup>hw</sup>Pi-ir(a)-na-a (Fales and Jakob-Rost 1991, 78f.; 35, 4; deed concerning a real estate transaction by Hunderians). The same document is witnessed by Mušallim-Aššur s. of Har-bi-ša-su (line 28 on 80). The latter may contain the Kassite theophorous element *Harbe*.

#### 7.4.2. Halhubarra/Harhurbarban

<sup>hw</sup>Har/Ha-ar-hu-bar-ban in Kišesim (cf. Halhubarra, see Diakonoff 1956a, 208; cf. Forrer 1921, 92; Fuchs 1994, 437)

1. *An-zi-i* of <sup>hw</sup>Hal-hu-bar-ra, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43; see Radner 1998c).

#### 7.4.3. Kilambāti

<sup>hw</sup>Ki-lam-ba-a-ti (Kass.) was near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 443; Vera Chamaza 1994, 106f.).

1. *Pa-A-A-uk-ku* of <sup>hw</sup>Ki-lam-ba-te, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 43, Ofran).

#### 7.4.4. Bit-Sagbat

<sup>hw</sup>Ē-Sa-ag-ba-at (Tadmor 1994, 164; Summ. 7, 31), <sup>hw</sup>Ē-Sa-ag-bat was situated near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 428f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 107). <sup>hw</sup>Ē-Sa-ag-bi was in *Dan-ni-ti šū DUMU K[A.DINGIR.RA<sup>hw</sup> (...)]*, i.e. "the fortress of the Babylonian(s)" (= <sup>hw</sup>Si-il-ha-zi), according to Fuchs 1994, 428f. (ad Levine 1972, 38, ii, 40), who suggests (following Grantovskij 1970, 114, cf. Diakonoff and Kashkai 1979, 17f.) that *Dannuti ša mār-Bābili* is the same as Urart. *Babiluni* (cf. above, 7.1.1). There is no absolute certainty that Bit-Sa-ag-bi (presumably Kass.) is the same place as Bit-Sa-ag-bat/ba. Pace Levine (1972, 32; 1974, 110 with n. 73), the latter is

presumably not the same place as <sup>hw</sup>Sa-ag-bat, which is mentioned together with Elam (Winckler 1889, 124, 137f., cf. Zadok 1985b, 49).

1. *Ma-ki-ir-tu* of <sup>hw</sup>Ē-Sa-ag-bat, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 44).

#### 7.4.5. Sihazi

<sup>hw</sup>Si-il-ha-zi (cf. 7.4.4 just above) belonged to the province of Kišesim according to Fuchs 1994, 445 (mentioned in Tadmor 1994, 72; Ann. 15, 11 before Til-Aššuri which is to be sought more to the southwest).

#### 7.4.6. Armangu (= Urumangu/Uriangi?)

<sup>hw</sup>Ar-ma-an-gu, a town near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 424), is perhaps identical with NB <sup>hw</sup>Uru-mangu (see Zadok 1985a, 330f.) and <sup>hw</sup>U-ri-an-gi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 44). The latter was ruled in 714 B.C. by 1. *Ki-ta-ak-ki*, Ofran.

#### 7.4.7. Bit-Uargi

<sup>hw</sup>Ē-U-mar-gi, <sup>hw</sup>Ē-U-ar-gi near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 429), Ofran.

#### 7.4.8. Bit-Hirmāmi

<sup>hw</sup>Ē-Hi-ir-ma-mi was situated near Kišesim (see Fuchs 1994, 427).

#### 7.5. Harhar and environs

Levine (1972–75b; 1974, 116; cf. Vallat 1993, 83) suggests locating Harhar in central or eastern Mahidašt. He believes that Harhar with its surrounding territory was the easternmost limit of the Assyrian direct control in the Zagros. Herzfeld (1968, 32) and Reade (1978, 140f.) are more specific: they suggest that it lay further east, towards Nihavand and Malayer. The latter suggests localising the city of Harhar in Tepe Giyan. It is difficult to determine the eastern, northern and southern limits of Harhar.

The stages of Sargon II's itinerary from Harhar to B/Pustus (716 B.C.) are:

Harhar → Zakruti → Kurab/pli (received the tribute of Saparda, [x]kullu, Bigalli, Sig/kris and Bit-

Uargi) → Mt. Abrau[x] → Arussa → Pattus river → Uquta → Arusaka → Anzaknē (near Uriyaku) → Upuriya (received the tribute of Aratista) → B/Pustus.

#### 7.5.1. Harhar "proper"

<sup>hw</sup>Har-har-ha-ar, <sup>hw</sup>Har-ha-a-ra, gent. <sup>hw</sup>Har-ha-ra-A+A, refers to both the city (renamed *Kār-Sarru-ukin*) and the province (Fuchs 1994, 437). The name has forerunners from the Ur III and OB periods if not earlier (see Edzard and Farber 1974, 91; *Kār-har*, *Har-ha-har* [hapax, unpubl.]; Groneberg 1980, 131; *Kār-har*; cf. Frayne 1992, 69f.). Reade (1978, 140, n. 22) doubts this identification, but it is defensible in view of other instances of toponymic continuity, such as Ur III Sigris and *Šiṣṣirtum* (below, 7.10.1.1, 7).

7.5.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY (1–3 did not necessarily belong to Harhar proper, but are mentioned in the course of a campaign to its environs, notably Arzacia; a case in point may be that of 4)

1. <sup>hw</sup>Ku-a-ki-in-da, 2. <sup>hw</sup>Haz-a-na-bi, 3. <sup>hw</sup>E-sa-mul, 4. <sup>hw</sup>Ki-in-ab/p-li-la (Grayson 1996, 68; Shalm. III A.0.102.14, 122f.; cf. *Ku-ur-ab/p-li*, below, 7.5.5.1, 2), 5. <sup>hw</sup>Ki-šeš-lu (renamed *Kār-Nabū*, Fuchs 1994, 422, 443), 6. <sup>hw</sup>An-a-ri-a (renamed *Kār-lš-tar* or *Kār-Adad*), 7. <sup>hw</sup>Ē-mBa-ga-ia/-A+A, *-Ga-ba-ia* (Ofran.), renamed *Kār-lš-tar* or *Kār-Adad* (Fuchs 1994, 426).

#### 7.5.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHRONYMY

*Ki-ba-ha*, city ruler of Harhar, c. 721–720 B.C., atyp.

#### 7.5.2. Qantau

<sup>hw</sup>Ki-in-ga-ra-*u*/Q*i-in-da-a-i* (mentioned together with <sup>hw</sup>Ki-in-ga-ra-*ku*, renamed *Kār-Sin*, Fuchs 1994, 443).

1. *U-zi-tar* of <sup>hw</sup>Qa-an-ta-a-*u*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45), Ofran?

#### 7.5.3. Kingaraku

<sup>hw</sup>Ki-in-ga-ra-*ku* (or *Ki-še-er-ga-ra-ku*?), possibly in Harhar (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45).

1. *Ma-āš-da-A+A-uk-ku*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 45), Ofran.

#### 7.5.4. Nārtu and environs

7.5.4.1. NARTU "PROPER"

##### 7.5.4.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPOONYMY

1. <sup>hw</sup>Ki-in-za-a-*u*/ba-*ri*-*ja* (Fuchs 1994, 443); 2. *Bit(Ē)-Ra-ma-ti-a* — the lower river region near Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 428), *-Ra-ma-ti-a* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 45; Ofran).

##### 7.5.4.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHRONYMY (all city rulers of Nārtu, capitals not specified, 714 B.C.)

Thureau-Dangin 1912, 42)

1. *Uk-sa-tar* (poss. = *Uk-sa-tar* in Harper 1892–1914, 64 from Sargon II's time according to Ivantchik 1993, 82), 2. *Du-re-si* and 3. *Sa-tar-e-šu* (Ofran).

##### 7.5.4.2. Bit-Bāri

1. *Sa-tar-e-šu* (Ofran.) and 2. *Pa<sup>2</sup>-ru-ra-si* were city rulers of <sup>hw</sup>Bit(Ē)-Ba-a-*ri* and <sup>hw</sup>Bit(Ē)-Ba-ba-*ri* in 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vii, 21f.) — presumably respectively, i.e. S. of Bit-Bāri and P. of Bit-Bāri. Urart. *hwBa-ru-a-ta* is identical with Bit-Bārū(a) rather than with Bit-Bāri (see below, 7.10.2). Bit-Barbari may be merely homonymous with ME *Bit-i-ba-a-ba-ri* (Vallat 1993, 44).

##### 7.5.4.3. Bit-Barbari

See 7.5.4.2 just above.

#### 7.5.4.4. ARA(N)ZIĀS

<sup>hw</sup>A-ra-an-ze-(e)-šū, <sup>hw</sup>A-ra-zi-[āš] (gent. <sup>hw</sup>A-ra-zi-āš-A+A) was the upper region of Nārtu near Harhar (see Streck 1900, 344, n. 1; Fuchs 1994, 423). Frahm (1997, 123b) rejects the identification suggested by Tadmor (1994, 49 ad Ann. 11,12; implied by Reade 1978, 138, fig. 1) of the geographical referent of the variant form <sup>hw</sup>E-ri-in-*ti*-a-šū with <sup>hw</sup>El-en-za-āš of Bit-Bārūa (below, 7.10.2, 1). Tadmor's suggestion should not be rejected off hand; it is acceptable only if at a certain stage Ellipi took control of a region belonging to the Assyrian province of Harhar sometime in Sennacherib's reign if not slightly earlier. The interchange *n/l* is not uncommon in forms having more than one liquid/nasal.

1. *Ma-nir-su-ar-ta* the Arzaciaean (Grayson 1996, 186; SamSt-Adad V A.0.103.1, iii, 38 — on his return from the third campaign), end of the 820s or beginning of the 810 (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C.); 2. *Ra-ma-te-ia* of <sup>hw</sup>A-ra-zi-[āš], 744 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 48; Ann. 12, 1), Ofran.



7.5.5. *Zaqrûte and environs*

This region should be located immediately east of the Mahidâst, perhaps in the Bisutun area (see Levine 1974, 118).

## 7.5.5.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. <sup>u</sup>*Ma-zu-ri-te* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47; see Vera Chamaza 1994, 108) is mentioned before 2. <sup>u</sup>*Ku-ur-ab-pi-li* (cf. 7.5.1.1, 4 above) and 3. <sup>u</sup>*Bi-gal-i* (cf. 7.5.7 just below).

## 7.5.5.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. [...] <sup>u</sup>*ia*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. B. ii, 43); 2. *Ba-ag-pâr-na*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47), Olran.

## 7.5.6. Possibly in "Greater" Harhar

1. <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-qa-te* (see Fuchs 1994, 469). 2. <sup>u</sup>*Ku-lu-man* (near Kermanshah, Parpola 1987, 237b s.v. *ad* 73, 8; in broken context; to Harhar according to Diakonoff 1985a, 87, n. 1). <sup>u</sup>*Ki-il-man* (poss. Hurri) was situated at the entrance of the pass of Saparda (see Levine 1990, 51, 5, 6, 10, r. 7; Esarhaddon's reign; the reading of the second sign was suggested by Diakonoff 1956a, 269, n. 1) and was under threat from Kašārti of Kār-Kāšši or Dusamī of Saparda; and 3. <sup>u</sup>*Ha-al-bi-pu-[u]k-mu* in Nārtu/Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 465 and 436 resp.).

## 7.5.7. [x]kullu

1. <sup>u</sup>*Uš-[x]* of <sup>u</sup>*Uš-[x]-kul-lu* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 47) delivered tribute at <sup>u</sup>*Ku-ur-ab-pi-li* (mentioned after Zaqrûte) together with Da-i-ku of Saparda, and presumably with the rulers of <sup>u</sup>*Bi-gal-i*, Sig/kris and Bit-Uargi (cf. Levine 1972, 40, ii, 48).

## 7.5.8. Saparda

<sup>u</sup>*Sā-pār-da* (in Harhar, see Diakonoff 1985a, 107; cf. Streck 1900, 346f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 108f.). <sup>u</sup>*Sā-pār-da*, [<sup>u</sup>*Bi*]<sup>u</sup>*Sā-pār-da*, gent. [<sup>u</sup>*Bi*]<sup>u</sup>*Sā-pār-da-A* (NB; Starr 1990, 366a with refs.; Kass.?).

1. *Da-i-ku* of Saparda, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 47), Olran. (Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998p). 2. *Da-ri-i* of <sup>u</sup>*Sā-pār-da*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 47), Olran.; 3. *Du-sa-an-ni* ruler of Saparda, time of Esarhaddon (Starr 1990, 19d, with n. 255; 45, 4; 50, 6; -[an-ni]; 51, 4, 7; [Du-sa-an-ni, r. 5; [D]u-; see Fribritius [and Schmitt] 1998a).

## 7.5.9. Sig/kris

## 7.5.9.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. <sup>u</sup>*Si-ig-kri-i-si* (gent. <sup>u</sup>*Si-ig-kri-i-si-A*) is pre-Iranian (recorded as early as Ur III, see Edzard and Farber 1974, 181, cf. Vallat 1993, cxiv, 241). Sig/kris belonged to Harhar according to Fuchs 1994, 445, 2. <sup>u</sup>*Ab-ra-i* [sa?] (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 49) is hardly identical with <sup>u</sup>*Ab-i-ru-us* of Tiglath-pileser III (above, 4.11.1, 2).

## 7.5.9.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY (BOTH Olran.?)

1. *x-pa-a-r-nu-a* the Sig/krisean, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 14); 2. *Ha-TAR-na* city lord of Sig/kris, time of Esarhaddon (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

## 7.6. Uriyakkū

## 7.6.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ak-ki-ku*, <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia* (?) <sup>u</sup>*ka*, <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ka*, gent. <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ak-A*, <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ak-A*, was a region near Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 469; Olran.). 1. <sup>u</sup>*Di-ri-is-ta-a-nu* (Fuchs 1994, 430; Olran.).

## 7.6.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy (1, 2, 4 Olran.?)

1. *Ka-ra-ak-ka* of <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia* (?) <sup>u</sup>*ka*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 55). *Kar-ak-ku* of <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ka-A*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49), *Kar-ak-ku* from <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ku* or "the Uriakean" (<sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ak-A*, Harper 1892-1914, 713, 6 and 12 resp.). 2. *Ir-nuk-ka-mu*, city lord of <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ka*, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 128, r. 6; 1046 [cf. Postgate 1974, 116] r. 2). In both letters it is reported about Harhar and the Medes; 3. *Up-pi-te* (Olran.?), city lord of <sup>u</sup>*U-ri-ia-ku*, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 645, 12f.); 4. *Ra-me-mi-ti-i*, *Ra-ma-ti-i*, coeval with Karakku's son, Sargon II's time (Harper 1892-1914, 713, 8, 10).

## 7.7. Uqūta

## 7.7.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. <sup>u</sup>*U-qū-ta* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 52), <sup>u</sup>*U-qū-ut-ti* (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 19) is preceded by 2. <sup>u</sup>*Ab-ru-us* (Olran.) and 3. *I-pa-at-tu-us* (Levine 1972, 40, ii, 51f.). It is followed by 4. <sup>u</sup>*A-ru-sa-ka* (Olran.) and 5. <sup>u</sup>*An-za-ak-né-e* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 54, 56 resp.).

## 7.7.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

<sup>u</sup>*Ar-za-an*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 19), Olran.

## 7.8. Upa/urya

## 7.8.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

<sup>u</sup>*U-pa-ri-a* (Tadmor 1994, 107; St. II, B, 37'), <sup>u</sup>*U-pu-ri-a* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 56). *U-pa-ri-a* <sup>u</sup>*U-pu-ri-a* was east of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 466) between 1. Mt. *Pa-at-ta-āš-iš-im* and 2. Mt. *Da-ru-i-e* and included the region of 3. <sup>u</sup>*Re-ma-mi-ti* (see Fuchs 1994, 456). Mt. *Da-ru-i-e* is homonymous with 4. *I-da-ru-e* (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 56 and 63 resp.; Olran.). For a homonymous mountain and river in the same region (very probably related topographically), compare Eilers 1954, 313f., n. 23 in *fine*; Astour 1987, 21 with n. 126.

## 7.8.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Mi-it-ra-ku*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 107 ad St. II, B, 37'), Olran.; 2. *Šā-da-qu-Pl*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 106; St. II, B, 35'; presumably Olran.) of <sup>u</sup>*U* (?) subject to collation *pa-ri-a*; 3. *Sa-ta-pa-nu* of <sup>u</sup>*U* (<sup>u</sup>*U-pu-ri-a*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 24), Olran.

7.9. Aratišta (<sup>u</sup>*A-ra-ti-iš-ta*, <sup>u</sup>*A-ra* [<sup>u</sup>*ra*]-*is-ta*, <sup>u</sup>*A-rat-is-ti*)

1. *Ma-āš-dak-ka* of <sup>u</sup>*A-ra-ti-iš-ta*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 58). *Ma-āš-dak-ku* of <sup>u</sup>*A-rat-is-ti*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 49; see Fuchs 1998, 41, n. 120). *Ma-āš-dak-ku* of <sup>u</sup>*A-ra* [<sup>u</sup>*ra*]-*is-ta*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 28; Olran.

7.10. *Ellipi and environs* (see Streck 1900, 76f.; Levine 1974, 104f.; Fuchs 1994, 432f.; Vera Chamaza 1994, 102f.)

## 7.10.1. Ellipi "proper"

According to Medvedskaya (1999, 63f.), Ellipi was situated in Piših Kuh as far east as Kūh-i Garin. Her Western neighbours were Bit-Hamban, Halman and Tupliš and the eastern ones were Arziās, Harhar and Media.

## 7.10.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. <sup>u</sup>*Mar-i-bi-iš-tu*, <sup>u</sup>*Mar-i-bi-iš-ti*, <sup>u</sup>*Mu-ru-i-bi-si* (capital, see Edzard 1987-90, Fuchs 1994, 450) is perhaps the same place as OP *Maru*, LB *Ma-ru*, a fortress in Media, presumably in its western part (Von Voigtlander 1978, 2345); 2. <sup>u</sup>*A-ti-i-na*, 3. <sup>u</sup>*An-da-op-pa* (?), 4. <sup>u</sup>*Hal-di-mi-še* (Fuchs 1998a, 40, vi.b, 3ff.), 5. <sup>u</sup>*Hu-ba-ab-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 438), 6. <sup>u</sup>*Ak-ku-ud-du* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 16), 7. <sup>u</sup>*Si-iš-i-ir-ti*, <sup>u</sup>*Si-iš-i-ru-tu* (Parpola 1970, 324 with refs.; and Ur III *Si-iš-i-ir-tum*), see Edzard and Farber 1974, 245, s.v. *Ziirtum*) belonged to Ellipi (Bit-Barrīa) in Sennacherib's time, but was a fortress of the Assyrian province of Harhar on the Ellipian border by Esarhaddon's time (Starr 1990, 77, 2, 5, r. 1). It seems that 8. <sup>u</sup>*Ha-dal-ri-pa* (Harper 1892-1914, 645, 9) belonged to either Ellipi or Harhar.

## 7.10.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *Bar-ri-i* <sup>u</sup>*Pa-ra-iš-ti* the Ellipian, 843 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 40f.; Shalm. III A.10.102, iv, 21f., see Frahm [and Schmitt] 1998), Iran. /Elam.; 2. *Tal-ta* the Ellipian (Tadmor 1994, 98; St. I, B, 11'); *Ta-at-ta* from Ellipi (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 42; Fuchs 1994, 408f.); uncle of 4-6; Kass. ? 3. *A-zu-uk-ti*, a personage from Ellipi (see Fuchs 1994, 408), poss. Iran. or Hurri.; 4. *As-pa-ba-ra/i*, *Is-pa-ba(a)-ra*, *Is-pa* [<sup>u</sup>*ba-ra*] king of Ellipi (nephew of Daltā, Sargon II's time, see Fuchs 1994, 410), Olran.; 5. *Lu-tu-i* brother of Aspabara (Parpola 1987, 16 r. 6; 17, 6); *Lu-tu-i* (Harper 1892-1914, 128, 9, 13, 17), Elam.; 6. *Ni-bé-e* nephew of Daltā and cousin of Išpabāra, time of Sargon II and Sennacherib (see Fuchs 1994, 413), Kass. ? 7. *Tu-mi* city lord of <sup>u</sup>*El-pa-a* (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6), *Tu-né-e* (Starr 1990, 76, r. 2) in Esarhaddon's reign, Kass.

## 7.10.2. Bit-Barrīa

<sup>u</sup>*É-Šar-ru-i*, <sup>u</sup>*É-Bar-ri-i* in Ellipi (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 25 and 59, 31 resp.) is very probably a dynastic name, presumably named after the Ellipian ruler *Bar-ri-i* (7.10.1.2, 1 above, cf. Frahm and Schmitt 1998). It was annexed to the province of Harhar by Sennacherib (see Levine 1974, 117). *Bit-Barrīa* rather than *Bit-Bāri* resembles Urart. <sup>u</sup>*Bar-ri-a* (i.e. *Bar-ru-a*; *-iā* being an Urart. suffix) from the time of Argišti I, i.e. the early eighth century B.C. If the Urartian toponym refers to Bit-Barrīa (cf. Diakonoff [and Kashkai] 1979, 18f., who does not preclude an identification with Bit-Bāri), then this would be the



earliest attestation of this region, about half a century after the eponymous dynast is mentioned.

1. <sup>u</sup>*El-en-za-ās* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 27; cf. above, 7.5.4.4; renamed *Kār-Sin-ahh-eriba*), 2. <sup>u</sup>*Ku-um-ma-ah-lu/lu* (Luckenbill 1924, 28, ii, 23; 68, 14 and together with *Šiširtu* in 58, 31).

### 7.10.3. Harhar/Ellipi

1. *As-ru-ka-(a)-ni* and 2. *A-ma-ka-ni* are recorded in the undated letter Harper 1892–1914, 1454, which is datable to Sargon II's time (see Radner [and Schmitt 1998]). It concerns Kuluman, Sig'kris and Ellipi. Both anthroponyms are probably OIran.

### 7.11. Parnuati

<sup>u</sup>*Pa-ar-nu-at-ti*, a region east of Ellipi (see Fuchs 1994, 453; OIran.).

### 7.12. Ba'it-ili and environs

<sup>u</sup>*Ba-'it-i-ili*, *Ba-'it-DINGIR* was located on the border of Ellipi (Fuchs 1994, 425). It is not necessarily *Bayiotava* < \**Bagastāna*, modern Bisutūn (pace Hüsing 1898, 361; see Billerbeck 1898, 1; Streck 1900, 352) and has nothing to do with <sup>u</sup>*kur-ur-pi-(it)-ya-(a)-nu* (below, 7.15.7, 3; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 321f.). The only recorded settlement is 1. <sup>u</sup>*Er-i-iš-ta-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 433; OIran.). Ba'it-ili included several districts (see Fuchs 1994, 418, 421 s.v.v.), viz. 2. <sup>u</sup>*Am-ba-an-da*, 3. <sup>u</sup>*Ab/p-sa-hu-ut-ti*, and 4. <sup>u</sup>*ga-ga*.

### 7.13. Regions near Ba'it-ili

#### 7.13.1. B/Pustis, B/Pus/štus

<sup>u</sup>*B/Pu-us-ti-is* (see Fuchs 1994, 429), <sup>u</sup>*B/Pu-us-tu-us*, <sup>u</sup>*B/Pu-us-tu-u[s]*.

1. *Ra-ci-iš-tu* of <sup>u</sup>*B/Pu-us-tu-us*, 716 B.C. (Levine 1972, 42, ii, 58), OIran.; 2. *A-ri-ia* city lord of <sup>u</sup>*B/Pu-us-tu-u[s]*, 711 B.C. (Fuchs 1998a, 41, vi.b, 26, see Fuchs [and Schmitt] 1998f), OIran.

#### 7.13.2. Utrina

<sup>u</sup>*U-tir-na* (see Fuchs 1994, 470).

### 7.13.3. Uiauaue

<sup>u</sup>*U-ia-da-ii-e* (see Fuchs 1994, 470).

### 7.14. Dananu

<sup>u</sup>*Da-na-nu* is to be sought east of Harhar (see Fuchs 1994, 429), like Uiauaue, B/Pustis, Agazi, and Ambanda, which are also more to the east (Streck 1900, 353f.).

7.15. Presumably in southwestern Media (for such a location of 7.15.1, 7.15.7, 2 see Billerbeck 1898, 82, 87ff.). On petty polities in southwestern Iran cf. Boucharlat 1998, 147f. with lit.

#### 7.15.1. Bit-Zualzaš (see Vera Chamaza 1994, 107f.)

1. *Hu-um-be-e* of <sup>u</sup>*u-ū-ā-ā-ās*, 714 B.C. (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 46); *Hum-bê-e* [ruler of Bit-Zualza], time of Sargon II (Parpola 1987, 15, 14), presumably Elam.

#### 7.15.2. Bit-Matti

<sup>u</sup>*Ē-Ma-at-ti*, 737 B.C. (Tadmor 1994, 70: Ann. 14\*, 6; 88: Ann. 4, 3) is listed between Bit-Zualzaš and Tupliās.

#### 7.15.3. Karzibra

<sup>u</sup>*Kar-zi-ib-ra* (Kass.?), gent. <sup>u</sup>*Kar-zi-ib-ra-A* (Diakonoff 1956a, 203) is not necessarily identical with *Kār-Siparrī* in Kurdistan as understood by Arutyunyan 1985, 102f. with previous lit. Does modern *Kar-zabar* (17 miles below Zanjan at 36–48 48–14) originate from a homonym of *Karzibra*?

#### 7.15.4. Other regions from 737 B.C.

1. <sup>u</sup>*A-ri-ar-ma* (Tadmor 1994, 74: Ann. 16, 1; <sup>u</sup>*ar(V)*; 104: St. II, B, 28\*); <sup>u</sup>*A-ri-ar-mi* (Tadmor 1994, 164: Summ. 7, 31; OIran.?), 2. <sup>u</sup>*Tarlugallē*, 3. <sup>u</sup>*Sa-ak'-su-uk-ni* (Kass.?), 4. <sup>u</sup>*A-ra-qu-ut-tu* (poss. OIran.), and 5. <sup>u</sup>*Gu-kin-na-na* (Elam.?) are mentioned between Amate and Silhazī (Tadmor 1994, 72: Ann. 15, 7; 16, 1).

#### 7.15.5. Bit-Taranzāyu

<sup>u</sup>*Ē-TAR-AN-za-A* (listed between Tupliās and Parsua, Tadmor 1994, 124: Summ. 1, 18).

### 7.15.6. Šemais

NB 1. <sup>u</sup>*Se-ma-iš* and 2. <sup>u</sup>*ti-tir-ga-zi* (see Zadok 1985a, 179, 291f., s.v.v.). The former is perhaps a residue of Ur III Šimaski which is localised by Vallat (1993, cxliiff.) in the Shahdad region (southeastern Iran). However, there is no definite proof for Vallat's localisation.

### 7.15.7. Parnakku

Esarhaddon's campaign against 1. <sup>u</sup>*Pār-na-ki* (gent. <sup>u</sup>*Pār-na-ka-A*, Borger 1956, 34, KIch A, 28; Nin. B, iii, 22 and 51, Nin. A, iii, 56 resp.) took place in 677/6 B.C. at the latest (see Ivantchik 1993, 81 with previous lit.). The Parnakkeans are described as dwellers of 2. *Til-Aššuri/Ṭīšr* (cf. Tadmor 1994, 73 ad Ann. 15, 12). They were named 3. <sup>u</sup>*kur-ur-pi-(it)-ya-(a)-nu* in the tongue of the people of 4. *Mi/Mi-hi-ir-a-ib-ra-(a)-nu* (Borger 1956, 34; KIch A, 29; 51; Nin. A, iii, 58). *Pit(yānu)* is hardly identical with earlier *Padin* (pace Diakonoff 1985a, 102) and has nothing to do with *Ba'it-ili* (7.12 above; see Zadok 1981, 135f.). <sup>u</sup>*Pār-na-ki* is not identical with <sup>u</sup>*Bit(Ē)-B/Pu-na-ki* in Rāsi on the Elamite border (pace Diakonoff 1985a, 63). Parnakku might have been located not far from Ellipi, if the arrangement of <sup>u</sup>*Pār-na-ki* after Ellipi in Borger 1956, 100, Mnm. B, 20 is significant. If <sup>u</sup>*Par-na-ka-A* (originally a gentilic) does not refer to a homonymous place, then Parnakku is recorded also in Ashurbanipal's time. B 79 and envelope (638 B.C., found in Assur) record a loan of 1.5 mina of silver (with interest in case of non-repayment). The debtors are Kul-lu'-Issar s. of Gu'-zi-ri, the prefect (*šaknu*) of <sup>u</sup>*Par-na-ka-A* as well as Dārī-abū'a and Šulmu-ereš (commanders of fifty). All the debtors impressed their seals. The creditors are Balissu (also a prefect) and Zari (NUMUN-i, see Weszeli 1998). The deed is witnessed by *Ma-āš-ša-a*, *Na-din-A*, *Nabū-ahhē-eriba* (a prefect), as well as by Inura-gimil and Nabū-(e)riba, both from Nippur. Does it imply that Nippur was on the way between Parnakku and Assur? All the principals and the witnesses bear Akkadian names, but since Esarhaddon does not report that he deported Parnakkeans, it is difficult to assume that Parnakku refers to a settlement of Parnakkeans in Mesopotamia.

### 7.15.8. Nahšimarti

<sup>u</sup>*Na-ah-ši-mar-ti* (gent. <sup>u</sup>*Na-ah-ši-mar-ta-A*; Kass.).

1. *Hum-ba-re-eš* city lord of <sup>u</sup>*Na-ah-ši-mar-ti* (Esarhaddon's reign; Parpola and Watanabe, 1988, 28, 6) bore an Elamite name. Therefore his territory is to be sought somewhere in south-southwest Media (Elamite political influence was discernible in Ellipi).

7.16. Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy (49 = 100%; 7.5.2, 1 and 7.5.7, 1 are not counted)

(a) Old Iranian (20 = 42.85%). 744 B.C.: *Ra-ma-te-ia* (7.5.4.4, 2); 737 B.C.: *Mi-it-ra-ku* (7.8.2, 1) < \**Mitra-ka* is the earliest occurrence of a Mithra name on Iranian soil (see Zadok 1986, 247/3; Tadmor 1994, 106f. ad loc. aptly adding it to the comprehensive documentation presented by Schmitt 1978)– 716 B.C.: *Da-i-ku* (7.5.8, 2; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998a); *Ra-zi-iš-tu* (7.13.1, 1) < \**Razita*– (see Hinz 1975, 204; Zadok 1976c, 388a)– 716–714 B.C.: *Ka-ra-ak-ka*, *Kar-ak-ku*, *Kar-ak-ku* (7.6.2, 1) < \**Kār-aka*– (Grantovskiy 1970, 266f.; cf. Zadok 1976c, 388, n. 11)– 716–711 B.C.: *Ma-āš-dak-ka/ku*, *Ma-āš-š-dik-ku* (7.9, 1) < *duk* as a CVC sign is indifferent to vowel quality < \**Mazdaka*– (Grantovskiy 1970, 253ff. cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 275)– 714 B.C.: *Ba-ag-pār-na* (7.5.5.2, 2; see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998g); *Da-ri-i* (7.5.8, 1) < \**Dāraya*– (or a similar form, see Grantovskiy 1970, 324f. and cf. [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998h); *Ki-ta-ak-ki* (7.4.6, 1; see Grantovskiy 1970, 267); *Ma-āš-da-A-uk-ku* (7.5.3, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 253f.); *Pa-a-A-uk-ku* (7.4.3, 1) < \**Pāyuka*– (Grantovskiy 1970, 259, 317/77); *Uk-sa-tar* (poss. = *U-ak-sa-tar*, 7.5.4.1.2, 1, see Hüsing 1899b, 139); and *Sa-tar-esu* (7.5.4.1.2, 3; see Scheffelowitz 1905, 275; Grantovskiy 1970, 316, 322/88)– 711 B.C.: *A-ri-ia* (7.13.1, 2, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998f); *Sa-tar-esu* (7.5.4.2, 1, see just above); *Sa-tar-pa-mu* (7.8.2, 3, cf. above, 6.10, ap); *U-ur-za-an* (7.7.2, 1) < \**Uzāna*– (see Hüsing 1900a, 128; Grantovskiy 1970, 328)– Sargon II's time: *Ir-tuk-ka-nu* (7.6.2, 2), presumably *-āna*-(pro-)patronymic of \**Rta-vahu-ka* (Zadok 1979a, 296/13) or of *Rtu-ka* (cf. Zadok 1997a, 2). *As/z-ru-ka-(a)-ni*, *A-ma-ka-ni* (7.10.3, 1, 2). The latter is Old Iranian and the former probably such according to Schmitt [and] Waters 1998 and [Radner and] Schmitt 1998g (no definite etymology); *As-pa-ba-rari*, *Is-pa-ba-ira* (7.10.1.2, 4) < \**Aspa-bāra*– (Scheffelowitz 1905, 275; [Fuchs, Gesche and] Schmitt 1998); *Ra-me-mi-ti-i*, *Ra-ma-te-i* (7.6.2, 4) is presumably a variant of *Ra-ma-te-i* (see



Grantovskiy 1970, 234f.; cf. 5.6, a above).- **Just possible** (3 = 6.12%): **717 B.C.**: *Sā-ta-qu-Pi* (7.8.2, 2, see Zadok 1996).- **714 B.C.**: *Du-re-si* (7.5.4.1.2, 2, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998).- **Sargon II's time**: 7.10.3, 1.- **Doubtful** (6 = 12.24%): **714 B.C.**: *Ma-ki-ir-tu* (7.4.4, 1) may render *\*Wah-kr-ta* (suggested by Diakonoff 1956a, 214f., n. 1, followed by Grantovskiy 1970, 318/79, 86), like *\*U-ki-ir-tu* which precedes it (6.9.2.2, 1, 6.10, a), only if it is a scribal error for *\*U-ma-ki-ir-tu* (unlike Elamite NA <MA> does not render OIran. *\*i/s/*). *Ma-ki-ir-tu* would render *\*Māhi-kr-ta* (the precursor of *Māked*, see Grantovskiy 1970, 318/80). This is probably a defective spelling, as one would expect <\*/Ma-hi/ for the first component (cf. Hinz 1975, 156f.).<sup>4</sup> *U-zi-ta* (7.5.2, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 236f.; 318/83) or non-Iran. *\*x-pa-a-r-nu-a* (7.5.9.2, 1) if it ends in *\*farnahvā*.- **Sargon II's time**: *Up-pi-te* (7.6.2, 3, see Grantovskiy 1970, 238).- **Esarhaddon's time**: *Du-sa-an-ni* (7.5.8, 3; see Fabricius and Schmitt 1998a), *Ha-TAR-na* (7.5.9.2, 2).- **(b) Old Iranian or Elamite** (1 = 2.04%): *Ba-ru-i/Pa-ri-i* (7.10.1.2, 1, see [Frahm and] Schmitt 1998 with previous lit.).- **(c) Possibly Old Iranian or Hurrian** (1 = 2.04%): *A-zi-uk-ti* (7.10.1.2, 3, see [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 309).- **(d) Kassite** (3 = 6.12%): *Tu-ni-i/Tu-né-e* (7.2.2, 1, 7.10.1.2, 7, see Balkan 1954, 52, 84, 184) is homonymous with *Tu-ni-ia* from Adad-narāri III's reign (Kataja and Whiting 1995, 8, 13).<sup>5</sup> *Ia-an-zi-u* (7.1.2, 2) is originally a title (cf. above, 3.9).- **Doubtful** (3 = 6.12%): *Ni-bé-e* (7.10.1.2, 6, cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 309f.). *Tal-Ta-al-ta-a* (7.10.1.2, 2) is non-Iranian according to Diakonoff 1956a, 208, n. 5 and Zadok 1990, and perhaps Hurrian according to Grantovskiy 1970, 309. However, Hurro-Urartian anthroponyms are not recorded in southwestern Media during the first millennium B.C. It may be Kassite, cf. *Ta-al-ta-e* at MB Nuzi (Cassin and Glassner 1979, 138). *Bi-si-ha-dr* (7.4.1.2, 1, see above, 6.10, b).- **(e) Elamite** (2 = 4.08%): *Hum-ba-re-eš* (7.15.8, 1, see Zadok 1984a, 11f.; 48; 36/198; 53/C/5.2); *Hum-ba-be* (7.15.1, 1), *Hum-bé-e* is probably non-Iranian (cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 318), cf. the toponym *Til-Hum-bi* (Luckenbill 1924, 40, iv, 70), which is juxtaposed with *\*Bit(É)-B/Pu-na-ki* of Rāsi (on the Babylonian-Elamite border, cf. Zadok 1976, 388, n. 9).<sup>6</sup> and *Hum-bé-e* (Kataja and Whiting 1995, 53, r. 11).- **Doubtful** (1 = 2.04%): *Lu-du-ru-u* (7.10.1.2, 5, cf. Zadok 1984a, 27/135a?)- **(f) Atypical** (1 = 2.04%): *Ki-ba-ba* (7.5.1.2, 1) is not

necessarily Elamite (*pace* Hüsing 1900b, 560f.; 1900c, 83f.; cf. Diakonoff 1956a, 208, n. 5).- **(g) Akkadian** (2 = 4.08%): 7.1.2, 1; 7.4.1.2, 2.- **(h) Probably pre-Iranian** (1 = 2.04%): *Da-su-uk-ku* (7.3, 1), cf. Ur III *Da-su-uk* (see Gelb 1944, 101; a clear Old Iranian etymology cannot be obtained, cf. [Fuchs and] Schmitt 1998).- **(i) Unaffiliated** (4 = 8.16%): *Ki-ba-biš-še* (7.3, 2, cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 309), *An-zi-i* (7.4.2, 1; an element *anz-* is listed in Gelb et al. 1943, 201; hardly < *yarzi* as understood by Grantovskiy 1970, 317), *Mu-ni-su-a-ra-ta* (7.5.4.4, 1) — what precedes *-a-ra-ta* is hardly Old Iranian (despite Grantovskiy 1970, 206); 7.5.4.2, 2.- **(j) Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 4 = 8.16%; 744–705: 41 = 83.67%; 704–600: 4 = 8.16%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (4 = 100%): Old Iranian? 1 (25%); Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (25%); Akkadian 1 (25%); unaffiliated 1 (25%); 744–705 (41 = 100%): Old Iranian 21 (51.21%); possibly Old Iranian 3 (7.31%); Old Iranian? 4 (9.75%); possibly Old Iranian or Hurrian 1 (2.43%); Kassite 1 (2.43%); Kassite? 2 (4.87%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (2.43%); Elamite? 2 (4.87%); atypical 1 (2.43%); Akkadian 1 (2.43%); probably pre-Iranian 1 (2.43%); unaffiliated and isolated 3 (7.31%). 704–600 (4 = 100%): Old Iranian? 2 (50%); Kassite 1 (25%); Elamite 1 (25%).

7.17. *Linguistic analysis of the toponymy* (96 = 100%; 7.5.7, 7.5.9.1, 2 are not counted)

(a) **Pre-first millennium** (4 = 4.16%): *Har-har/har-ar*, *Har-ha-a-ra* (7.5.1) is not with a reduplicated syllable (*pace* Hüsing 1900c, 84) in view of the earlier form *Kár(a)-har*; 7.1a; 7.5.9.1, 1; 7.10.1.1, 7.- **(b) Pre-first millennium?** (1 = 1.04%): 7.15.6, 1.- **(c) Homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms** (1 = 1.04%): *A-ga-zi* (7.12, 4) is homonymous with Ur III *A-ga-zu* (Sarg. *A-ga-zu* from Gasur according to Sigrist 1979, 168; these forms and their geographical referent should be differentiated from *Ag-zi-a* and *A-ga-za-r[i]*, *pace* Frayne 1992, 81ff.). *A-ga-zu* a forerunner of MB *A-QA-āš*? Deller (1976, 38f., cf. Fadhl 1983, 11) suggests the reading *A-pena-āš* (he is followed by Fincke 1993, 28f.). Would it not be simpler to identify *A-qā-āš* with *Agāz*? In this case it would be with *g/q* and *-āz* (Sarg. and Ur III < > = MB Nuzi < >, cf. above, 2.6, 2).- **(d) Old Iranian** (14 = 14.58%): *A-ra-qu-ut-tu* (7.15.4, 4), poss. < *\*Haraqyati-* (see Hüsing 1999b,

401; Eilers 1954, 281 with n. 107; 329f.); *E-ri-iš-ta-na* (7.12, 1) < *\*Arya-stāna-* (see Scheffelowitz 1905, 274; Grantovskiy 1970, 332f.); *Di-ri-iš-ta-na* (7.6.1, 1, see Grantovskiy 1970, 332; cf. Scheffelowitz 1905, 274). *A-ru-ia-sa*, *A-ru-sa-ka* (7.7.1, 2, 4) < *\*Aruša-* and *\*Aruša-ka-* respectively (see Zadok 1976c, 388b); *Dar-ni-i-e* (7.8.1, 2, 4) is based on *\*Dāru-* “wood” (see Zadok 1976c, 388b). *U-ri-ak-ki-ku* (7.6.1) < *\*farya-ka-* (see Grantovskiy 1970, 188); and *É-Sa-an-gi-bu-tu*, *Sin-gi-bu-te*, *Sin-gi-bu-ut* (7.3; cf. above, 3.10, b; 4.12, a). **Originally anthroponyms**: *É-Ba-ga-ia/A* (with metathesis *-Ga-ba-ia*, 7.5.1.1, 7) — Scheffelowitz (1905, 274) compared *Ba-ga-ia/A* with the Phrygian divine name *Ba-gaios* (see also Diakonoff 1956a, 146 with n. 1; Grantovskiy 1970, 313f.73). *Bit(É)-Ra-ma-ti-tu-ia* (7.5.4.1.1, 2), *É-Mu-mar-ge*, *U-ar-gi* (7.4.7) < *\*Hu-arga-* (see Zadok 1976c, 387b) rather than *\*Hu-marga-* as suggested by Grantovskiy 1970, 312f. 71 for *U-mar-gi* before the spelling *U-ar-gi* in Levine 1972, 40, ii, 48 became known; < *MARK-* stands for the glide; and perhaps *Bit(É)-Ba-a-ri* (7.5.4.2), *Pa-ar-nu-at-ti* (7.11) < *\*Farnahvati-* (see Scheffelowitz 1905, 274; Grantovskiy 1970, 296, 332). **Doubtful** (2 = 2.08%): *A-ra-ti-iš-ta*, *A-ra-ti-iš-ti* (7.9; with *st/št* interchange), *A-ri-ar-ma-mi* (7.15.4, 1, see Diakonoff 1956a, 201, n. 2; 203, n. 2).- **(e) Old Iranian or Kassite** (1 = 1.04%): *Pā-na-ki* (7.15.7, 1), cf. MB *Pir-na-qu* (Hölscher 1996, 168), which is probably Kassite in view of *B/Pur-na-ak-ki* (cf. Zadok 1994b, 48a; CVC signs like *pār/pir/pur* are indifferent to vowel quality).- **(f) Old Iranian or Elamite** (1 = 1.04%): *É-Bar/Ba-ar-nu-i* (7.10.3), a probable direct evidence for the type *Bit + PN*.- **(g) Kassite** (7 = 7.29%): *Na-ahš-mar-ti* (7.15.8) presumably contains Kass. *nahezi* “protection” (Balkan 1954, 71f., 169; cf. Hölscher 1996, 146) and *marti*, a variant of the Kassite divine name *Maruttāš* according to Balkan 1954, 165. If *nahezi* is a variant of *nazi*, then this toponym originates from a late form of the common Kassite anthroponym *Nazi-Maruttāš*, *Ki-lam-ba-a-tel-ti* (7.4.3; see Balkan 1954, 172), *É-Sa/-ga-bi* (7.4.4), cf. *sagab* (Balkan 1954, 140, 179); *É-Sa-ag-bat-ba-at*, which refers to the same place, has the same base with dropping of *-a* presumably because it was short and unstressed. The same applies to *Sag-bi-ta* (6.8.1, cf. 6.11); 7.1b. With *-yaš*: *Tupliāš* (*Tub/pliāš* or *Tug/kliāš*, for *b/g*, *p/k* see Kinier Wilson 1962, 113). For a hypothetical relationship between *A-ra-n-ze-e-šūi/A-ra-zi-(āš)/E-ri-in-zi-a-šūi* and *\*El-en-za-š* see 7.5.4.4 above (Grantovskiy 1971, 182f.

differentiated these forms since he adopted the implausible Old Iranian etymology of Herzfeld 1938, 167).- **Doubtful** (2 = 2.08%): *Kar-zi-i-ba-ra* (7.15.3; with *karzi*? cf. above, 5.7, c) and *So-ak/-su-uk-ni* (7.15.4, 3; cf. Kass. *sag* and *suk-ni*, Balkan 1954, 179?)- **(h) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian** (2 = 2.08%): *Su-hur-zu/Su-hur-za* (7.2.1, 1) is homonymous with the anthroponym *Su-hur-zi* from MB Nuzi (Gelb et al. 1943, 135b, 258b). *S/Su-hur* may be identical with the first component of Kass. *Su-hur-galdu* (Balkan 1954, 83, 178, cf. 115f. for this element in Hurrian names as well). *Sa/-pār-da*, *Sa-pa-ar-da* (7.5.8) resembles the last component of the anthroponym *Su-ih-ša-ba/pa-ar-da* from MB Nuzi (Hurr.? see Gelb et al. 1943, 251a, but *ših* is recorded in Kassite names as well, cf. Richter 1998, 127) and the MA toponym *Šu-pār-di* referring to a region in Na’iri (Nashef 1982, 247), a Hurrian-speaking area.- **(i) Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 1.04%): *Ki-lu-man*, *Ki-il-man* (7.5.6, 2) is perhaps related to Hurr. *Ki-lu-mana* (cf. Zadok 1986, 246, ii, 4), in which case *Ki-lu-man* may be with NA vowel harmony.- **Doubtful** (1 = 1.04%): *É-Ma-at-ti* (7.15.2), cf. perhaps MB *Ma-at-ta-a’-e/ia* (Hurrian according to Gelb et al. 1943, 233f.; comparable only if it is not a compound).- **(j) Elamite?** (3 = 3.12%): *Hal-di-ni-še* (7.10.1.1, 4, cf. *hali*?, Zadok 1984a, 9/257), *Si-il-ha-zi* (7.4.5) = *Dan-ni-šā DUMU K[Ā].DINGIRRA* (7.4.4), i.e. “the fortress of the Babylonian(s)”. A connection of Akk. *damu* with Elam. *šilha-ka*, both denoting “strong”, is tempting but scarcely probable since *-(a)l-ē* is hitherto not recorded as a name component in Elamite (there is no proof that *Pur-na-zi* from Marhaši, Zadok 1993, 223, 1.1, 8, is an Elamite name; *Gu-kin-na-na* (7.15.4, 5; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 240).- **(k) Atypical** (1 = 1.04%): 7.5.4.3.- **(l) Atypical/Akkadian** (1 = 1.04%): 7.14.- **(m) Akkadian** (7 = 7.29%): the renamed places 7.4.1; 7.5.1.1, 5–7; 7.5.1; 7.5.2; 7.10.2, 1 are not counted; *Nāru* (7.5.4.1) is a generic term and there is good reason for thinking that the following two toponyms are also such. *Zaq-ni-te* (7.5.5.1, 1) and *Re-ma-mi-ni* (7.8.1, 3) are presumably based on *zaqrūm*, SB, LB, von Soden 1965–81, 1514b; > *zaxpōs*? see Eilers 1995, 330f., n. 110; cf. Durand 1991, 88) “high, steep” (said of mountains) or “massive” (foundations of citadels, especially in Sargon II’s inscriptions) and *NA remānu* “merciful” respectively. In the same manner, *I-Nam-ri-te* (cf. 7.1.1) is hardly an indigenous name, but means simply “the Namrian canal”. Is *Türhügallé* (7.15.4, 2, cf. Eilers 1954, 329f., n. 107 in *fine*) the outcome of a folk



etymology? *Bit-še-e-di* (7.1.1.4), *Bit-s/šak-ki* (7.1.1.3) may denote "harrowed" (field, *šakku*, OB, SB, peripheral MB) or "silted" (*sakku*, OB, MB, NB, SB); 7.1.1.8, **(n) Partly Akkadian?** (1 = 1.04%). **Assyrianised** (with vowel harmony and *št* > *ss*): *Mar-ti-bi-š-i-š*, *Mar-ti-bi-š-i-tu*, *Mar-ti-bi-š-i* (7.10.1.1, 1) is apparently a compound toponym. The first component resembles — if the segmentation is correct — OP *Maru-*, *LB Mar-ru-*, in which case the second one may be NB *bisitu* "fortress", placed at the end like the middle and modern Iranian components with *-diz*, *-diz* "idem" (cf. Eilers 1954, 300, 311, 347, 358, 361, 381; 1956, 203; extant in *Nowdiz* as well).<sup>37</sup> **(o) West Semitic (Aramaic)?** (1 = 1.04%); 7.12.- **(p) Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (19 = 19.79%): *Ki-in-ga-ra-ku* (7.5.3), *Qa-an-ta-a-iū/Ūi-in-da-a-iū* (7.5.2), *Ku-a-ki-in-da* (7.5.1.1, 1), for the components *king-*, *-kind-*, cf. Hüsing 1899a, 89f.; Streck 1900, 338, n. 1. *Hu-un-dir* (7.4.1.1) is linguistically related to *Hu-un-dir-ur-na* (see above, 3.10, i. *CVC* signs like *DIR* are indifferent to vowel-quality). *U-ru-mu* (7.2.1, 2) is presumably a pre-Iranian toponym in view of the anthroponym *U-ru-mu* from OB Chaghar Bazar (Talon 1997, 137 with refs.). It is not clear whether *An-za-ri-a* (7.5.1.1, 6) is linguistically related to RAE *an-za-ri-ri* (NE *an-sar*, presumably in Persis, Vallat 1993, 16). *Ab-pa-in-ut-ti* (7.12, 3) is homonymous with the anthroponym *Ab-pa-in-ut-te* from Calah, 616 B.C. (Jursa 1998). *Bi-gal-i* (7.5.5.1, 3), cf. perhaps the OB anthroponym *Bi-ga-an* referring to a Qutian (Finkelstein 1972, 271, 6, 7; 337, 5; cf. 51a index, s.v.: "see also *Pi-qā-tilu*" [in 152, 8]). *U-ia-da-še* (7.13.3), cf. perhaps the anthroponym *I-wa-da-ta-e* from OB Šušarrā (Eidem 1992, 136, 64; perhaps with haplogly or a later form). *Ki-in-za-a'-a-ba-r[a]* (7.5.4.1.1, 1; apparently with *kinz-*, cf. above, 2.6, g). *U-qu-ta-U-qu-ut-ti* (7.7.1, 1), cf. the OB anthroponym *Uku-tu* from Chaghar Bazar, Talon 1997, 8, 3, cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 271a, s.v. *ukū*, *É-Ta-mul* (7.1.1, 2), cf. *E-sa-mul* (7.5.1.1, 3)?; *Ki-še-si-su*, *Ki-š-i-su*, *Ki-še-si-im*, *Ki-š-i-im*, *Ki-š-a-si-su* (7.4.1, 1), cf. perhaps *Ki-š-eš-lu* (7.5.1.1, 5); *Ki-in-ab-pi-li-la* (7.5.1.1, 4) cf. perhaps *Ki-ur-ab-pi-li* (7.5.1.1, 2; poss. due to interchange of liquids/nasals); *Am-ba-an-da* (7.12, 2) has nothing to do with (*Bit*-)Hamban, seeing that LB has *an* *Ka'-am-pa-da* (not *Hamban*) for OP *Ka'-per-da* (RAE *Ka'-um-pa-ma-tā*, Von Voigtlander 1978, 24; 47, *pace* Billerbeck 1898, 105, n. 2), cf. perhaps the anthroponym *Am-ba-ti* (Waters 1998c). *Ir-šū(?)*-*mu* (7.1.1, 7) — If the reading is correct, it may be homonymous with Ur III

*Ir-šū-ma* referring the canal near Marad (Edzard and Farber 1974, 270).- **(q) Unaffiliated and isolated** (26 = 27.08%). **(α) Partly Akkadianised**: 7.4.8; 7.15.1; 7.15.5 (all with *bit-*, not genuine hybrids, see above, o); *Til-Aššuri/ITšr* (7.15.7, 2).- **(B) Others**: *Ar-ma-an-gu*, *U-ri-an-gi*, NB *U-ru-ma-n-gu* (7.4.6); *Urumangul/Uriang?* < *\*Arvangel*, *\*Urvang?*, *Pi-(ti)-ta-a-yu* (7.15.7, 3), *Mi/Mi-hi-ir-a-i/ir-a(a)-mu* (7.15.7, 4), 7.1.1, 1, 5, 6; 7.4.2; 7.5.1.1, 2; 7.5.6, 1 [*U-ru-ri-qate*, presumably to Akkad. *urriqū* "yellow stone" (MB, SB, von Soden 1965–81, 1497a)], 3; 7.7.1, 3, 5; 7.8.1; 7.8.1, 1; 7.10.1.1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8; 7.10.3, 2; 7.13.1; 7.13.2. **(r) Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000–745: 16 = 16.66%; 744–705: 70 = 72.91%; 744–705/704–600: 3 = 3.12%; 704–600: 7 = 7.29%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000–745 (16 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 2 (12.5%); Kassite 2 (12.5%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (6.25%); Akkadian 3 (18.75%); unaffiliated, but not isolated 4 (25%); unaffiliated and isolated 4 (25%); 744–705 (70 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 1 (1.42%); homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms 2 (2.85%); Old Iranian 10 (14.28%, of which 5 = 7.14% are originally anthroponyms); possibly Old Iranian 1 (1.42%); Old Iranian? 3 (4.28%); Kassite 2 (2.85%); Kassite? 2 (2.85%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (1.42%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (1.42%); Elamite 1 (1.42%); Elamite? 2 (2.85%); atypical/Akkadian 1 (1.42%); atypical/Akkadianised 1 (1.42%); Akkadian 4 (5.71%); partly Akkadian? 1 (1.42%); Akkadianised 1 (1.42%); West Semitic (Aramaic)? 1 (1.42%); unaffiliated, but not isolated 13 (18.57%); unaffiliated and isolated 22 (31.42%); 744–705/704–600 (3 = 100%): Pre-first millennium? 1 (33.33%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (33.33%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (14.28%); Old Iranian or Kassite 1 (14.28%); Kassite 1 (14.28%); unaffiliated and isolated 4 (57.12%).

## 8. KURDISTAN

### 8.1. Habhi

1. *Bu-i-bu* s. of *Ba-bu-a/Bu-ba-a* (both atyp.) of Ništur, 883 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 198; Ashumasirpal II A.O.101.1, i. 67 and 242; A.O.101.17, i. 89 resp., see Liverani 1992, 27) was flayed in Arbail (see Fuchs 1998f).

### 8.2. Habruiri/Kirruiri and environs

#### 8.2.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

1. *U-ri-di-du* (beyond the pass of 2. *Si-me-si*, see Billerbeck 1898, 46 with n. 1) was presumably the capital of *Hab/Kir-ru-ri* (see Liverani 1992, 22); 3. *Ma-an-da-ru-ta* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 425; Hurr.; 4. *U-ri-i-tu* (see Levine 1973, 16; 1976–80b; cf. Vera Chamaaza 1995–96, 252f.). The region of 5. *La-da-a-ne* (with the mountains 6. *U-ru-ub-pu-mu* and 7. *Is-ru-un*), which was accessible through the passes of Habruiri/Kirruiri and bordered on the Lower Zab, is described as inhabited by Lullubians (Grayson 1991, 172f.; Tukulti-Ninurta II A.O.100.5, 30ff.). The late and secondary geographical extension of Lullubum (see Klengel 1987–90, 166f.) does not necessarily apply to this region, which was very close — if not adjacent — to Lullubum, the more so since we cannot determine with certainty the original geographical extension of Lullubum.

#### 8.2.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

1. *Ni-in-i*, *Ni-in-ni* (atyp.) of *U-ri-di-du*, 857 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 8; Shalm. III A.O.102.1, 16 and 14; A.O.102.2, i. 16 resp.); 2. *Tursi-Iššār* s. of *Ha-ru-wi-i*, presumably from H. (alternatively a Calahite?), 629 B.C. (Postgate 1976, 135f.; 29, A, 2f.), might have had a Hurrian father's name.

### 8.3. Hargu

#### 8.3.1. Geographical extent and toponymy

The tribute of 1. *Hargu* (gent. *U-ri-di-du*, 857 B.C. (see Levine 1972–75a) was delivered in *Hab/Kir-ru-ri* together with that of Simesi, 2. *Si-me-ra* (modern Dašt-i-Diana? see Liverani 1992, 22, poss. with a homonymous place in Zama, cf. Levine 1977a, 137), 3. *U-ma-ni-a*, 4. *U-ma-da-iš* and 5. *U-ma-ma-sa-a* in 883 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 241; Ashumasirpal II A.O.101.17, 78; see Levine 1972–75c; Russell 1984, 194) and together with that of 2, 3, 5 and 6. *Si-ri-ri-iš(-A-A)*, gent. in 857 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 8; Shalm. III A.O.102.1, 17f., listed before Kilzanu), *U-ma-ma-sa-a* (Starr 1990, 366b with refs.) is also mentioned together with Mannea.

#### 8.3.2. Prosopography and anthroponymy

*Kir-la-ka-a*, a Hargean, Sargon II's time (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 149, 21).

### 8.4. Ukkū and environs

#### 8.4.1. Ukkū "proper"

1. *Ba-zi-ia*, Ukkuean prince, time of Sargon II (see Parker 1998b); 2. *Ma-ni-la-e* king of Ukkū (*U-uk-ki*, originally) of the land of *U-ri-di-du* in the time of Sennacherib (Luckenbill 1924, 37, iv, 13f., cf. Parker 1998b).

### 8.4.2. Near Ukkū

#### 8.4.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *U-ri-di-du* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 129 s. 3), 2. *Ma-na-ra* and 3. *U-ri-di-du* (Lanfranchi 1924, 37, iv, 18), 4. *U-ri-di-du* (cf. above, 8.4.1, 2).

#### 8.4.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

*A-da-a*, ruler, time of Sargon II (see Fuchs 1998b, 2), atyp.

### 8.5. Kumme and environs (all from the time of Sargon II)

1. *A-ri-e*, [*A-ri-i*]-*LA-e* ruler of Kumme (see Parker [and Schmitt] 1998, Hurr. rather than OIran.; 2. *A-ri-a-za-a*, *A-ri-za-a*, *U-ri-za-a* (co-ruler of Arie or his son? see Parker and Radner 1998); 3. *Ba-bi-su*-[x] (see Parker 1998a); 4. *E-hi-la* (poss. West Semitic like 6, cf. Vanderloost 1998); 5. *E-zi-la* (see Pempe 1998); 6. *Ga-ma-lu* (see Fabritius 1998); 7. *Ku-ma-a* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 100, *passim*); 8. *Bi-ri-a* (see Parker 1998c, Hurr.-Urtat.; 9. *Bu-ri-e* (see Parker 1998d, Hurr.-Urtat.

### 8.6. Aira (probably near Kumme and the Urartian border)

1. *Sa-ni-la(-e)* (city lord of) *U-ri-di-du*, Sargon II's time (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 245a with refs.), probably Hurr.-Urtat.

8.7. *Tumme* (see Liverani 1992, 19f. with previous lit.; the localisation of Salvini 1967, 65 near Lake Urmia is too much to the north)

*U-ri-di-du* was delimited by the mountains 1. *U-ri-di-du*, 2. *U-ri-di-du* and 3. *E-ri-di-du*. The latter stretched



into Zamua as well (differently Liverani 1992, 53). Are the toponyms *E-ri-na* (OB Šušarra, Eidem 1992, 88b with refs., see 56 and cf. Astour 1987, 22) and MA *kur-ri-in-ni* (Nashef 1982, 37) related to *kur-ri-in-ni*? (cf. perhaps *U-ri-na*, which is described as a frontier-place of Lullubian in the "Sargon geography", Weidner 1952–53, 4, 12, cf. also Frayne 1992, 74f.). The settlements 4. *kur-Li-be* (poss. the main town), 5. *kur-Su-ur-ra*, 6. *kur-A-bu-qu*, 7. *kur-A-ri-ra* and 8. *kur-A-ru-be-e* are also recorded (Grayson 1996, 196f.: Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, i, 46f.). For *kur-HAR-ra-ni-a* see above, 1.10.1.

## 8.8. Sumbi

*kur-Su-m-bi* (to be kept apart from *Su-bi*, pace Herzfeld 1938, 166 and Yusifov 1986, 87) was presumably part of Inner Zamua. Sumbi was situated between *kur-Ni-kip-pa* (above, 2.1.1.1, 5) and 1. *kur-U-pa-a* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 15, 418). The little river 2. *B/Pu-ti-ia* flowed between them,<sup>28</sup> presumably on the way from Mannea to Assyria if Fuchs's restoration (*apud* Frahm 1997–98, 402 ad 98f., 17) is correct. For further ramifications, such as the conditional inclusion of 8.9.8.1, 3–6 in Sumbi, see below ad 8.9.8.1, 6. The earliest occurrences are from the late 820s or the early 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., gent. *kur-Su-un-ba-A+A*, Grayson 1996, 184f.: Šamšī-Adad V A.0.103.1, ii, 31, 39), unless the ascription of A.0.102.1002, which has *kur-Su-un-ba-A+A*, to Šalmaneser III is valid (see Grayson 1996, 172f., but his statement that "all the names given occur in texts of Šalmaneser III" is imprecise; it may alternatively be ascribed to Adad-nārī III, see above, 0). Seven mountains (actually six, but seven is a stereotypic number) were situated on the way from Sumbi to Surikaš (above, 1.9; Thureau-Dangin 1912, 28f., see Levine 1973a, 19; Ztā, 114; Vera Chamaza 1994, 96): 3. *kur-Si-na-hul-zu*, 4. *kur-Bi-ru-at-ti* (a variant of 1.1, 11 above? the Assyrian scribe compared it with Akkad. *berūtu* "remote"), 5. *kur-Ti-ur-ta-ni*, 6. *kur-Si-na-bi-ir*, 7. *kur-Ah-su-ū-ru*, and 8. *kur-Su-ti-ia* (= *kur-Su-ti-a*), below, 8.9.6.1).

## 8.9. Zamua

See Billerbeck 1898, *passim*, esp. 38f.: Liverani 1992, 46ff., 104f., 126f., 146, 151 and figs. 4, 5,

18, 24, 25, 27 (generally following Speiser 1928 in the identification of most locales with modern sites). Dagara and Kishirtu in Western Zamua (the former in the basin of the Tauq Chai according to Levine 1989, 86) are not included here because they were ruled and presumably inhabited—at least partly—by Arameans. Like Sumbi, no rulers are associated with the following locales:

1. *kur-Me-su* was situated between 2. *kur-Si-ma-ki* (near the region of Dagara and not far from the Diyala, see Liverani 1992, 51) and 3. *kur-A-zi-iru* (modern Azmir? see Speiser 1928, 25 with n. 45, provided it is not a case of assonance), 4. *kur-Ba-a-ra* (Diakonoff 1956a, 102, n. 4; 156f.; Orlan? is to be differentiated from both Bit-Bāri (7.5.4.2) and Til-Bāri (in northeastern Babylonia, pace Billerbeck 1898, 25). The suggestion of Frayne (1992, 80) that *Ba-ra-mu/Bar-ra-an/Bar-me-un* is the forerunner of Bāra is unacceptable. 5. *kur-Hu-du-un* is mentioned after Ammali (below, 8.9.7).

## 8.9.1. Inner Zamua

### 8.9.1.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

\**Idu* (gent. *kurum-l-d/ta-A+A*, cf. Frayne 1992, 80) is to be sought east of the pass of *kur-B/Pu-na-is* and not far from Lake Zeribar, where the Idean warriors took refuge. Šalmaneser III crossed the Kullar pass and established a fortress in Inner Zamua in 843 or 842 B.C. (Grayson 1996, A.0.102.6, iii, 58f.) before proceeding to Mannea. It is not known whether this unnamed fortress is the same as the one which was later named *Dūr-Tukulti-apil-Esarra* (cf. below, 8.9.8.1, 6).

### 8.9.1.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *Ni-ig-de-ra* and 2. *Ni-ig-de-ra-a* from Inner Zamua (Grayson 1996, 52; Shalm. III A.0.102.10, ii, 8, but the detailed account in Grayson 1996, 36: A.0.102.6, ii, 11 and 104:A.0.102.28, 42, has only *Ni-ig-de-ra/Ni-ig-di-a-ra*), *Ni-ig-di-a-ra* and *Ni-ig-de-ra-a* (Grayson 1996, 65: A.0.102.14, 51f.; the former from Idu) *Ni-ig-de-ra*, *Ni-ig-de-ra-ma* (Grayson 1996, 75: A.0.102.16, 25), both 854 B.C. 3. *SAR-si-na* s. of *Me-eg-di-a-ra* (= *Ni-ig-di-a-ra*) is mentioned (without specifying his capital, see Diakonoff 1985a, 61) in the course of Šamšī-Adad V's second campaign to Nairi and Sunbu, and his third campaign to Nairi, Hubuškia and Sumbi at the end of the 820s or beginning of the 810s (presumably sometime between 821 and 819 B.C., Grayson 1996, 184:A.0.103.1, ii, 23f., 38).

## 8.9.2. B/Pu-nešu

### 8.9.2.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *kur-B/Pu-na-a-si*, *kur-B/Pu-na-is* (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 52f.) was situated inside 2. Mt. *Ni-muš* = Lullubian *Ki-ni-ba-pa* (modern Pir Omar Gudrun, see Billerbeck 1898, 26; cf. Speiser 1928, 18 and Liverani 1992, 48, 53) in western Zamua.

### 8.9.2.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

1. *Mi-sa-si-na* king of *kur-B/Pu-na-a-si*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 35); 2. *A-na-re* = the B/Punesan (*kur-B/Pu-ne-sa-A+A*, 854 B.C. (Grayson 1996, 104; Shalm. III A.0.102.28, 42, see Schramm 1973, 82, 87f.; Radner 1998a).

## 8.9.3. Dūr-Lullumē

### 8.9.3.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. MA *Dūr-Lullumē* > NA *Dūru* (see Unger 1938) may be identical with MA *kur-Du-ri*, which is mentioned together with *kur-U-a-mi-a* (> NA *Zamua*?, Nashef 1982, 278); 2. *La-ar-bi-pu-sa* (see Liverani 1992, 48). The former is defined as Kirtira's capital whereas the latter is described as his fortress (*ālu damtutu*).

### 8.9.3.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

*Ki-ir-ti-a-ra*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 204; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 40); *Ki-ir-te-a-ra* (ii, 69; 246: A.0.101.17, 53); cf. Levine 1973a, 19.

## 8.9.4. Arzizu

### 8.9.4.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *kur-Ar-zi-zu* (Hurr.) was presumably near 2. *Qiu-un-bu-na* (cf. Liverani 1992, 54; Matilla 1998, 3). *kur-Ar-si-in-du*, 4. *kur-Ni-si-pi* is identified with modern Mt. Avroman (see Liverani 1992, 49f., who regards 5. Mt. *Ga-am-ri* and 6. Mt. *E-di-nu* as two peaks of Mt. Nišpi and points out that *kur-Bé-ru-tu* of Dagara was situated between these two peaks). Nišpi was a sacred mountain among the Lullubians: *\*Ni-iš-ba* was worshipped at Batir (in Halman, cf. above, 1.14; Edzard 1973, 76, ii, 44: *\*Ni-iš-ba*) and also at Simurum (Gelb and Kienast 1990, 379f.; 13, 16, 49) in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.

### 8.9.4.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY (BOTH ATYP.)

1. *A-ta*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 207; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 73); 2. *Da-da-a* ruler of Arzizu, Sargon II's time (see Matilla 1998).

## 8.9.5. Sipirmena

*kur-Si-pir-me-na*, *kur-Si-pi-a-me-na* (Grayson 1991, 207; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 75 and 248; A.0.101.17, iii, 97 resp.; see Liverani 1992, 54; cf. Speiser 1930, 56f.) was probably near Arzizu.

## 8.9.6. Zamri (see Liverani 1992, 52f.)

### 8.9.6.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *kur-Za-am-ri* was presumably near Sumbi if *kur-Su-ti* is the same mountain as *Su-ti-ia* (= 8.8, above). 2. *kur-La-a-ra* was not far from 3. *kur-A-ra-ak-dit-a*, renamed Tukulti-Aššur-ašbat, perhaps near Suleimaniyah according to Levine 1989, 86f.) and Hudun (8.9.2.1, 2) according to Grayson 1991, 207f.: Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 76f. Arrakki was one stop before 4. *[Ba]-[ar]-zu-un-d/ [Ba]-[ar]-zu-un-d/ [n]-[d]* according to the Zamua itinerary (Levine 1989, 76f., 11ff.; = 12 below?). 5. *kur-Bi-di-ir-gi* (see Liverani 1992, 52), 6. *kur-Lū-lū-ti* (prob. modern Takabia according to Speiser 1928, map and Liverani 1992, 53), *kur-E-ti-ni* (= 8.7, 3 above), 7. *kur-E-di-ir* (modern Shalar or Qizila according to Speiser 1928, 27 and Liverani 1992, 53), *kur-Su-ti*, 8. *kur-E-la-ni-ti*, 9. *kur-Sa-bi-pu-a* (near Baneh according to Liverani 1992, 54), 10. *kur-A-ra-si-ik-du*, 11. *kur-Am-ma-ru*, and 12. *kur-Pār-si-in-du* (Grayson 1991, 206f.: A.0.101.1, ii, 60ff., poss. modern Parazan according to Speiser 1928, 28f., cf. Liverani 1992, 54; Orlan?); 13. *kur-ri-tu*, and 14. *kur-Su-ri-tu*.

### 8.9.6.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYMY

*A-me-ka*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 206; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 61), poss. Orlan.

## 8.9.7. Ammali/Mamli (poss. modern Mamul, see Speiser 1928, 26; Liverani 1992, 51)

1. *A-ra-dā-tu-a*, 881 B.C. (Grayson 1991, 205; Ashurnasirpal II A.0.101.1, ii, 50), Orlan.

## 8.9.8. Unspecified

### 8.9.8.1. GEOGRAPHICAL EXTENT AND TOPONYMY

1. *kur-A-ti-la/Dūr-Aššur* is possibly modern Bakrawa (see Speiser 1928, 28; 1930, 100 with n. 52; Liverani 1992, 55f.). Is 2. *kur-Ban-ba-la* (one stage after Attila/Dūr-Aššur) related to MB *Pa-an-ba-lu*, a Kassite name of Babylon (see Balkan 1954, 90f.; cf. Nashef 1982, 47)? If this is so, then it would be another



indication of Babylonian presence in Zamua (notably in nearby Atilla) presumably during the early post-Kassite period (cf. F.E. Peiser in Schrader 1890, 272 ad v. 1; Brinkman 1968, 154f. with n. 929; Liverani 1992, 55 with n. 236). The itinerary from Atilla-Dür-Äššur to Lake Zeribar consists almost entirely of locales which served in all probability as Assyrian outposts against Mannea and changed hands between Assyria and Mannea, viz. 3. *Halšu ša Gur-A-A* (named after the Gurreans, a West Semitic tribe in the service of the Assyrians), 4. *Gupni ša Bēl-Harrān*, 5. *Halšu ša Adad-rēmāni*, and 6. *Dūr-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra* (Levine 1989, 78f., 26ff.; see Zadok 1995a, 434f.; Lanfranchi 1995, 134f.). The last point was probably on the Mannean border in the time of Tiglath-pileser III, who received there the tribute of Iranzu king of Mannea. *Dūr-Tukulti-apil-Ešarra* (the original name is unknown, cf. above, 8.9.1.1) was considered part of Sumbi if Fuchs's restoration (*apud* Frahm 1997-98, 402 ad 98f., 17') is correct. The same may apply to stages 3-5 on this itinerary. All these outposts start with *dūru* or *halšu* "fortress" which simply define their function. The gentile of the toponym 7. *ku-mi-sa-A-A* (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 202, 9) is recorded in a document from Zamua (see Zadok 1995a, 434); 8. *ma-HAR-ti-iš(-A-A)* (gent., see below, 8.10, 2).

#### 8.9.8.2. PROSOPOGRAPHY AND ANTHROPONYM

1. *Pa-ra-iš*, Birtu (presumably in Zamua, cf. Levine 1973, 18f. with n. 69), 717 B.C., concerning horses; horses from Mannea are mentioned in the preceding entry (cf. Postgate 1974, 21: 7.2.5), poss. Olan.; 2. *Lu-ul-lu-pa-[A+A]*, time of Sargon II (Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 138, 6), i.e. "Lullubean" (gent.; a commoner active northeast of Assyria proper); 3. *La-ar-ku-u-la* city lord of *ku-Za-mu-u-a*, time of Esarhaddon (Parpola and Watanabe 1988, 28, 6).

#### 8.10. Bit-Kilamzah and environs (702 B.C.)

1. *ma-E-ku-lam-za-ah* (Luckenbill 1924, 26, i, 72; Kass.); 2. *ma-Ha-ar-di-iš-pi* was compared with *ma-HAR-ti-iš(-A-A)*, mentioned together with Zamua, cf. Liverani 1992, 91) by Diakonoff 1956a, 158, n. 2; 3. *ma-Bit(E)-mku-bar-ti* (Luckenbill 1924, 73; both annexed to the province of Arrapha), Levine (1973b, 313f.) is of the opinion, that unlike Bit-Kilamzah, 2, 3 might have been situated more to the west.

8.11. *Linguistic analysis of the anthroponymy* (27 = 100%; 8.5.3 as well as the gentiles 8.5.7 and 8.9.8.2, 2, i.e. "Kummean" and "Lullubean" respectively, are not counted)

(a) **Old Iranian** (1 = 3.7%): 881 B.C.: *A-ra-āš-tu-a* (8.9.7, 1 see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998c).- **Just possible** (2 = 7.4%): 881 B.C.: *A-me-ka* (8.9.6.2, see [Radner and] Schmitt 1998b).- 717 B.C.: *Pa-ra-iš* (8.9.8.2, 1) may render *\*Parva-* "first" (see Zadok 1976, 388b).- (b) **Old Iranian or (rather) Hurro-Urartian** (1 = 3.7%): *A-ri-e*, *[A-ri]-I-A-e* (8.5, 1) — [Parker and] Schmitt 1998 follows Grantovsky's Iranian etymology. However, a Hurrian derivation seems plausible, seeing that *A-ri(-i)-ia* is very common in the Hurrian onomasticon (cf. Gelb *et al.* 1943, 203b). In addition, the ending *-I-A-e* is extant in other names from Kumme and neighbouring regions (see presently), which are not Iranian, but seem to belong to a Hurro-Urartian milieu.- (c) **Probably Hurro-Urartian** (2 = 7.4%): *Sa-ni-I-A-e* (8.6, 1), cf. *Sa-a-nē-e*, *Ša-a-ni* (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 249a, 250b) and perhaps Urart. *Sa-nē-e-hi-nē* (Melikishvili 1971b, 271f.; 455, 4). Is *Sa-ni-ni* (merchant, Lanfranchi and Parpola 1990, 224 r. 14; acted or was based in Arzuhina) the same name? Several names from Kumme and environs end in *-I-A-e* (8.4.1, 2, as well as the toponym *Da-A-A-e*, 8.4.2.1, 4). Is this an indication that they are basically Hurro-Urartian although this is not apparent from their bases? *Bi-ri-a-un* (8.5, 8) is probably Urartian according to Parker 1998c.- (d) **Hurro-Urartian?** (3 = 11.1%): *Bu-pu-re* (8.5, 9), cf. *Bu-pur-a* (Neu 1996, 398 and *passim*): *E-zi-I-A-e* (8.5, 5) may be compared with MB (DUMU) *E-zi-ia* (Hölscher 1996, 76a) and (DUMU) *E-ze-e* (from Taanach; for a West Semitic etymology see Sivan 1984, 205). *Ha-nu-i-u* (8.2.2, 2), cf. perhaps MB Nuzi *Ha-nu-ia* (Hurr.; see Gelb *et al.* 1943, 214a).- (e) **Atypikal** (short and ubiquitous; = 18.51%): 8.2.2, 1, 8.4.2.2, 8.9.4, 2, 1, *Bu-i-bu*, *Ba-bu-a-Bu-ba-a* (8.1, 1), *Da-da-a* (8.9.4.2, 2; Matilla 1998: "lallative").- (f) **West Semitic** (1 = 3.7%): *Gama-la-lu* (8.5, 6, not Akkadian, see Zadok 1995a, 436).- (g) **Possibly West Semitic** (1 = 3.7%): *E-hi-I-A-e* (8.5, 4, cf. Vanderroost 1998).- (h) **Unaffiliated, but not isolated** (6 = 22.22%): Is the first component of *La-ar-ku-u-la* (8.9.8.2, 3, cf. Grantovsky 1970, 125) related to *La-a-ra* (8.9.5.1, 1) and *La-ar-bu-pu-sa* (8.9.3.1, 2)? For names ending in *-di-tara*, viz. *Ki-ri-te-i-ta-ra* (8.9.3.2, see Grantovsky 1970, 122.3) for unsuccessful attempts at an Iranian

etymology) and *Me-eg-di-a-ra*, *Ni-gi-di-a-ra*, *Ni-gi-de-ra-ma*, *Ni-gi-de-ra>-ma* (8.9.1.2, 1, 2), see Hüsing 1898, 360; Streck 1900, 262, n. 1; Speiser 1928, 18 (hardly Hurrian as the names from Nuzi, which are quoted by Speiser, actually end in *-atal*; the interpretation offered by Speiser 1930, 113, n. 92 is also unlikely) and Diakonoff 1956b, 66, *Ba-zi-ia* (8.4.1, 1) can be compared with the toponym *ku-Ba-zi*, *ku-Ba-a-za* referring to a region in the nearby southern Armenian Plateau (cf. Astour 1987, 23); *Mu-sa-ia-si-ma* (8.9.2.2, 1, cf. 3.10 above).- (i) **Unaffiliated and isolated** (5 = 18.51%): 8.3.2, 1; 8.4.1, 2; 8.5, 2; 8.9.1.2, 3; 8.9.2.2, 2. (j) **Summary. Chronological distribution:** 1000-745: 11 = 40.74%; 744-705: 14 = 51.85%; 704-600: 2 = 7.4%.- **Ethno-linguistic classification:** 1000-745 (11 = 100%): Old Iranian 1 (9.09%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (9.09%); atypical 3 (27.27%); unaffiliated (Lullubian?) 3 (27.27%); unaffiliated (with parallels) 1 (9.09%); unaffiliated and isolated 2 (18.18%).- 744-705 (14 = 100%): possibly Old Iranian 1 (7.14%); possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 (7.14%); probably Hurro-Urartian 2 (14.28%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (21.42%); atypical 2 (14.28%); West Semitic 1 (7.14%); possibly West Semitic 1 (7.14%); unaffiliated 3 (21.42%).- 704-600 (2 = 100%): unaffiliated (Lullubian?) 1 (50 %); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (50 %).

#### 8.12. Linguistic analysis of the toponymy (84 = 100%)

(a) **Pre-first millennium** (11 = 13.09%): *Ni-muš* (Lullubian *Ki-ni-ba-pa*, 8.9.2.1, 2); *Ni-iš-pi* (8.9.4, 4, defined as *\*Ni-iš-ba*). Frayne (1992, 73f., 79, 83f.) regards *A-ri-ik-ti-in* and *Sa-bu-pu-e* as forerunners of *A-ra-ak-dal-a*, 8.9.6.1, 3; hardly Hurrian, *pace* Speiser 1930, 145, n. 86, who presented a different segmentation on 143) and *Sa-bu-pu-a* (8.9.6.1, 9) respectively. *Ad-da-u[š]* (8.3.1, 4; MA *A-da-u[š]*: 8.1; 8.2; 8.5; 8.7; 8.9.3; 8.9.3.1, 1).- (b) **Pre-first millennium?** (2 = 2.38%): 8.7, 2; 8.9.- (c) **Possibly homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms** (2 = 2.38%): *Si-ri-iš* (gent. *Si-ri-iš-A-A*, 8.3.1, 6) is possibly homonymous with *Še-er-iš*, *Še-er-iš*, *Še-er-še* (cf. Astour 1987, 33f.). Is 8.3.1 linguistically related to MA *Ha-ra-ga-muš* (cf. Nashef 1982, 119f; Astour 1987, 20)?- (d) **Old Iranian?** (2 = 2.38%): *Pā-rsi-in-du* (8.9.6.1, 12; = *B[al]-ar-zu-un-di*, 8.9.6.1, 42), cf. Av. (Yašt 13, 123) *Pāršīta* (Eilers 1984, 328; cf. Grantovsky 1970, 125) or non-Iranian: Speiser 1930,

92 with n. 21) points out that *-nt-* is also recorded in Anatolian names (and in several pre-Iranian onomastica). In Zamua *-nt-* is extant in *Ar-si-in-du* (8.9.3.1, 3) as well.<sup>39</sup> I cannot regard *Bar-sa-mu* as a forerunner of *Pā-rsi-in-du* (*pace* Frayne 1992, 80). *Bar-a* (8.9.2.1) < *\*Bāra-* (Grantovsky 1970, 125f.; cf. *Bit-Bāri*, 7.5.4.2), but the form is too short for an unambiguous linguistic affiliation (cf. ad 3.1, 1 above).- (e) **Kassite** (2 = 2.38%): *E-ku-lam-za-ah* (8.10, 1, see Balkan 1954, 92), *E-ku-bar-ti* (8.3, 3), both of the type *Bit-* + anthroponym.- **Doubtful** (2 = 2.38%): *Ha-ar-di-iš-pi* (8.10, 2) was compared with *\*HAR-ti-iš(-A-A)*, 8.9.8.1, 8). The latter is perhaps linguistically related to MA *\*Hi-ir-di-iš* (Nashef 1982, 128).- (f) **Kassite** (1 = 1.19%): 8.9.8.1, 2.- (g) **Hurro-Urartian** (3 = 3.57%): *Ar-zi-zu* (8.9.4.1, 1, cf. Speiser 1930, 91, n. 16; Gelb *et al.* 1943, 203b, 278b) is homonymous with the anthroponym *Ar-ze-e* referring to at least two different individuals (Kessler 1998b). *An-da-ru-ut-ta* (8.2.1, 3; hardly Olan, despite Eilers 1988, 440a, index, s.v.) is based on Hurr. *antur-*, cf. the MB anthroponym *An-ta-ra-ti* from Nuzi (Gelb *et al.* 1943, 201a?), as well as *An-da-ri-a*, *An-da-re-e*, *[An-di-ri]-a* (an Urartian governor, Radner 1998a: "meaning unknown, prob. Urar. i"; var. *An-du-ri-a*, Piepmann 1933, 57, n. 13; VAT 7947). MA *\*An-da-ri-a* in Māt-Lullubē (Zamua, Nashef 1982, 31) is homonymous; 8.8, 5.- (h) **Atypical** (8 = 9.52%): *Bu-pu-ia* (8.8, 2, cf. Eidem 1992, 56b ad *Bu-pu-e*); *Da-A-A-e*, *Pa-I-A-e* (8.4.2.1, 1, 4); 8.4.1; 8.4.2.1, 3; 8.8, 1; 8.9.1.1.- (i) **Akkadian** (4 = 4.76%); the renamed places 8.9.6.1, 3, 8.9.8.1, 1 are not counted; 8.9.8.1, 3-6.- **Doubtful** (2 = 2.38%): *Is-Lul-lu-i* (8.9.6.1, 6) may denote "the Lullubian river" (the CVC sign *LAL* is indifferent to vowel quality; for *nāru* "river" + adjective in the masculine gender cf., e.g., N/LB *Nāru la-bi-ri*, Pohl 1933, 51, 10); 8.8, 4 (with folk etymology, cf. *Bē-ri-ut* 8.9.4.17).- (j) **West Semitic** (2 = 2.38%): 8.9.6.1, 14, 8.9.7.- (k) **Unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated** (11 = 13.09%): *Si-na-hul-zi* (8.8, 3), cf. MA *\*Hu-ul\*-za* on Tūr-'Abdin (Nashef 1982, 130f.). *Si-me-ra* (8.3.1, 2) can be compared with the OB toponym *Ši-me-ri-ni*<sup>40</sup>, *Ši-me-er-ri-ni*, the Hurrian gentile *Ši-me-er-ri-ve* from Sušarra (Eidem 1992, 89b with refs., cf. MB Nuzi *\*Ši-me-ru-un-di*, Fincke 1993, 253f. and Astour 1987, 8) and perhaps *Ši-me-ri(-)Ha-di-ri*, above, 1.1.1 *in fine* and *\*Ši-mir-a* (located much more to the northwest, on the Urartian border near the province of the *rab-iaq*, Tadmor 1994, 126; Summ. 1, 30). *Su-un-bi* (8.8) may be linguistically related to the



OB anthroponym *Su-um-bi-ka* from Tikunani (Salvini 1996, 76, vii, 31). With *-um* (common in Urartian toponymy): 8.2.1, 4, 7; 8.9, 5; with *-nr* (cf. just above): 8.9.4.1, 3; 8.9.6.1, 4; 8.7, 2, 3, 8 resemble several toponyms in Urartu (cf. Salvini 1967, 65). - (I) **Unaffiliated and Isolated** (32 = 38.09%): *Bi-di-ir-gi* (8.9.5.1, 2) is hardly Hurrian as understood by Speiser 1928, 21, n. 36. I cannot agree with Frayne 1992, 80f, that *Ba-na-a-zu-NI/a*, is a forerunner of *B/Pu-na-a-si*, *B/Pu-na-is* (8.9.2.1). 8.2.1, 1, 2, 5, 6; 8.3.1, 3, 5; 8.4.2.1, 2; 8.7; 8.6, 4-7; 8.8, 6 (cf. *Si-na-hul-zir*); 7; 8.9, 1-3; 8.9.3.1, 2, 5, 6; 8.9.4.1, 2; 8.9.5; 8.9.5.1, 7; 8.9.6.1, 1, 2, 7, 8, 10, 12; 8.9.8.1, 1. (m) **Summary. Chronological distribution**: 1000-745: 58 = 69.04%; 744-705: 16 = 19.04%; 744-705/704-600: 6 = 7.14%; 704-600: 4 = 4.76%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**: 1000-745 (58 = 100%): Pre-first millennium 10 (17.24%); pre-first millennium? 2 (3.44%); homonymous with pre-first millennium toponyms 2 (3.44%); Old Iranian? 2 (3.44%); originally anthroponyms; possibly Kassite 1 (1.72%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (1.72%); atypical 1 (1.72%); Akkadianised? 2 (3.44%); West Semitic 2 (3.44%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 11 (18.96%); unaffiliated and isolated 23 (39.65%); 744-705 (16 = 100%): Hurro-Urartian 2 (12.5%); atypical 6 (37.5%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 2 (12.5%); unaffiliated and isolated 6 (37.5%); 744-705/704-600 (6 = 100%): Kassitised 1 (16.66%); Akkadian 3 (50%); Akkadian-West Semitic 1 (16.66%); unaffiliated but not entirely isolated 1 (16.66%); 704-600 (4 = 100%): Kassite 2 (50%) possibly Kassite 1 (25%); atypical 1 (25%).

## 9. COMPARATIVE MATERIAL

Individuals from Media or bearing Iranian names in Assyria proper (with various degrees of plausibility; arranged chronologically wherever applicable).<sup>40</sup>

A Mede (*Mad-A-A*) is possibly recorded as early as 738 B.C. together with a certain *Bar-zu-i* (see Zadok 1976c, 388b; the reading of the former is just one of several alternatives to *KUR-A-A*, cf. Zadok 1997d, 213). Another occurrence of the latter (an identical or homonymous *Bar-zu-i*) dates from 734 B.C. It is linguistically related to *Bar-zu-ia* [a] (undated, Fales and Postgate 1995, 133, iii, 9). *Ku-ta-ki* (cf. n. 23 above). *A-bi-še-ta-am-ba*, time of Sargon II (see Breckwoldt and Schmitt 1998). *Par-ta-am-ma*

(Kwasman and Parpola 1991, 181, 1: [-a-a-ma], 4; [pa]r-; 182, 3) < \**Frata-ma* (see Tallqvist 1914, 180b), 683 B.C. (cf. Zadok 1976c, 388f). *U-ri-ia-a* (Kwasman and Parpola 1991, 91, 7; 681/0 B.C.) is Canaanite, Akkad. (cf. Zadok 1978b, 59b) or OIran. \**Varya* 'the desirable' (cf. Zadok 1978c, 73b). *Pa-ar-mu-ia-a* — possibly Ashurbanipal's time (Kataja and Whiting 1995, 63, 6'; see Zadok 1990 and cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 325). *Pa-ra-an-šā-ka*, Aššur, sometime between 647 and 612 B.C. (Zadok 1997c, 6). *Ū-di-ni* (alternatively Akkadian), undated (prob. Sargid; Fales and Postgate 1991, 112 r, 3). Very little pertinent material (presumably from the last decade of the seventh century B.C.) is contained in Radner 1999 (several names are tentatively interpreted by me *apud* Radner 1999): 202 ad 63f. — *Pu-la-ia* and [N]u-ul-i (both Kass.); 205 ad 65: *Ku-un-na* (cf. Kass. *kun(a)*); *Da-tu-i-ib-'mi'* — cf. the toponym *Da-tu-um-bi*; *Ku-un-za-ri* — cf. MB Nuzi *Ku-uz-za-ri*, OB Mari *Ku-za-ri*; *Ku-šā-an-na* — cf. the homonymous toponym (above, 4.9.1, 1) and Kass. *kuš* (Balkan 1954, 152).

## 10. GENERAL STATISTICS

*Anthroponymy* (207 = 100%)

**Chronological distribution**: 1000-745: 58 = 28.01%; 744-705: 122 = 58.93%; 744-705/704-600: 2 = 0.96%; 704-600: 25 = 12.07%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**. 1000-745 (58 = 100%): Old Iranian 13 (22.41%); Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (1.72%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (1.72%); probably Old Iranian 2 (3.44%); possibly Old Iranian 1 (1.72%); Old Iranian? 1 (1.72%); Kassite 2 (3.44%); Kassite title 1 (1.72%); Kassite 1 (1.72%); Elamite? 1 (1.72%); atypical 9 (15.51%); Akkadian 1 (1.72%); Akkadian title 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian(?) region 3 (5.17%); unaffiliated with other parallels 1 (1.72%); unaffiliated and isolated 18 (31.03%); 744-705 (122 = 100%): homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.81%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names or Old Iranian 1 (0.81%); Old Iranian 48 (39.34%); Old Iranian or atypical 2 (1.63%); Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.81%); possibly Old Iranian 4 (3.27%); possibly Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.81%); Old Iranian? 2 (1.63%); Kassite 6 (4.91%); Kassite? 2 (1.63%);

probably Hurro-Urartian 4 (3.27%); Hurro-Urartian? 8 (6.55%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (0.81%); Elamite? 2 (1.63%); atypical 9 (7.37%); Akkadian 6 (4.91%); West Semitic 1 (0.81%); possibly West Semitic 1 (0.81%); unaffiliated with internal parallels 1 (0.81%); unaffiliated and isolated 15 (12.29%); 744-705/704-600 (2 = 100%): atypical 1 (50%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (50%); 704-600 (25 = 100%): Old Iranian 7 (28%); Old Iranian? 4 (16%); Kassite 1 (4%); Kassite? 1 (4%); Hurro-Urartian 1 (4%); Hurro-Urartian? 1 (4%); Elamite 1 (4%); atypical 1 (4%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (4%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian(?) region 1 (4%); unaffiliated and isolated 6 (24%); **In all periods taken together**: (a) Old Iranian 67 (32.36%); (b) Old Iranian or (rather?) Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.48%); (c) Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (0.48%); (d) Old Iranian or pre-Iranian 1 (0.48%); (e) Old Iranian or atypical 2 (0.96%); (f) probably Old Iranian 2 (0.96%); (g) possibly Old Iranian 5 (2.41%); (h) possibly Old Iranian or Hurrian 1 (0.48%); (i) Old Iranian? 14 (6.76%); (j) Kassite 11 (5.31%); (k) Kassite? 5 (2.41%); (l) Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.96%); (m) probably Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.96%); (n) possibly Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.48%); (o) Hurro-Urartian? 9 (4.34%); (p) Elamite 2 (0.96%); (q) Elamite? 2 (0.96%); (r) probably pre-Iranian 1 (0.48%); (s) atypical 22 (10.62%); (t) Akkadian 6 (2.89%); (u) West Semitic 1 (0.48%); (v) possibly West Semitic 1 (0.48%); (w) unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 11 (5.31%); (x) unaffiliated (with a reduplicated syllable) 1 (0.48%); (y) unaffiliated and isolated 36 (17.39%).

*Toponymy* (447 = 100%)

**Chronological distribution**: 1000-745: 158 = 35.34%; 744-705: 236 = 52.79%; 744-705/704-600: 10 = 2.23%; 704-600: 43 = 9.61%. **Ethno-linguistic classification**. 1000-745 (158 = 100%): pre-first millennium 13 (8.22%); pre-first millennium? 3 (1.89%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names 5 (3.16%); quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 2 (1.26%); Old Iranian 4 (2.53%); Old Iranian? 5 (3.16%); Kassite 4 (2.53%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.63%); possibly Kassite 1 (0.63%); Kassite? 5 (3.16%); Hurro-Urartian 2 (1.26%); Hurro-Urartian? 3 (1.89%); atypical 3 (1.89%); Akkadian 3 (1.89%); Akkadianised? 3 (1.89%); West Semitic 2 (1.26%); unaffiliated with

parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 8 (5.06%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 5 (3.16%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian(?) region 2 (1.26%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian(?) or Hurro-Urartian regions 6 (3.79%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian-Quitian(?) regions (*kingi*, *ka/irz*) 4 (2.53%); unaffiliated with internal parallels 8 (5.06%); unaffiliated and isolated 66 (41.77%); 744-705 (236 = 100%): pre-first millennium 2 (0.84%); gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym 1 (0.42%); pre-first millennium? 2 (0.84%); homonymous with pre-first millennium names 5 (2.11%); possibly quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.42%); Old Iranian 22 (9.32%); Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym): 1 (0.42%); possibly Old Iranian 11 (4.66%); Old Iranian? 9 (3.81%); Kassite 3 (1.27%); possibly Kassite 1 (0.42%); Kassite? 7 (2.96%); Hurro-Urartian 5 (2.11%); Hurro-Urartian? 16 (6.77%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.42%); Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 3 (1.27%); Akkadian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.42%); Elamite 1 (0.42%); Elamite? 2 (0.84%); atypical 8 (3.38%); Akkadian or atypical 1 (0.42%); Akkadianised or atypical 1 (0.42%); Akkadian? 7 (2.96%); Akkadianised 1 (0.42%); partly Akkadian? 1 (0.42%); West Semitic (Aramaicised) 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Kassite or Hurro-Urartian regions 2 (0.84%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Lullubian-Quitian(?) regions (*kingi*, *ka/irz*, *ka/irz*) 8 (3.38%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions 4 (1.69%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 10 (4.23%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Elamite or Hurro-Urartian regions 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Elamite territory 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated, but related to another toponym in the same region 10 (4.23%); unaffiliated, but related to another toponym in the same region? 1 (0.42%); unaffiliated and isolated 85 (36.01%); 744-705/704-600 (10 = 100%): pre-first millennium? 1 (10%); possibly Old Iranian 2 (20%); Kassitised 1 (10%); Akkadian 3 (30%); Akkadian-West Semitic 1 (10%); unaffiliated, but not isolated (with *-nt*) 1 (10%); unaffiliated and isolated 1 (10%); 704-600 (43 = 100%): pre-first millennium 3 (6.97%); quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian 5 (11.62%); Old Iranian or atypical 1 (2.32%); perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian or Kassite 1 (2.32%); Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (2.32%); Kassite 5 (11.62%); possibly Kassite 5 (11.62%);



Kassite? 1 (2.32%); Hurro-Urartian? 2 (4.65%); atypical 2 (4.65%); Akkadian 1 (2.32%); unaffiliated with parallels from the Hurro-Urartian regions? 2 (4.65%); unaffiliated and isolated 12 (27.9%). – In all periods taken together: (a) pre-first millennium 18 (4.02%); (b) pre-first millennium? 6 (1.34%); (c) gentile of a pre-first millennium toponym 1 (0.22%); (d) homonymous with pre-first millennium names 5 (1.11%); (e) quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.22%); (f) possibly quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names 1 (0.44%); (g) quasi-homonymous with pre-first millennium names? 3 (0.67%); (h) Old Iranian 31 (6.93%); (i) Old Iranian or Kassite 1 (0.22%); (j) Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian 1 (0.22%); (k) Old Iranian or Elamite 1 (0.22%); (l) Old Iranian or atypical (originally an anthroponym): 1 (0.22%); (m) possibly Old Iranian 13 (2.9%); (n) Old Iranian? 14 (3.13%); (o) Old Iranian or Hurro-Urartian? 1 (0.22%); (p) perhaps Old Iranian or Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (q) Kassite 12 (2.68%); (r) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian 2 (0.44%); (s) possibly Kassite 7 (1.56%); (t) Kassite? 13 (2.9%); (u) Kassite (very doubtful) 1 (0.22%); (v) Kassite or Hurro-Urartian? 3 (0.67%); (w) Kassitised 1 (0.22%); (x) Hurro-Urartian 7 (1.56%); (y) Hurro-Urartian? 21 (4.69%); (z) Elamite 1 (0.22%); (a') Elamite? 2 (0.44%); (b') atypical 13 (2.9%); (c') atypical or Akkadian 1 (0.22%); (d') atypical or Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (e') Akkadian 14 (3.11%); (f') Akkadianised 1 (0.22%); (g') Akkadianised? 3 (0.67%); (h') Akkadian-West Semitic 2 (0.44%); (i') hybrid (Akkadian and non-Semitic 1 (0.22%); (j') partly Akkadian? 1 (0.22%); (k') West Semitic 2 (0.44%); (l') West Semitic (Aramaicised) 1 (0.22%); (m') unaffiliated, but not entirely isolated 74 (16.55%); (n') Unaffiliated and isolated 164 (36.68%).

# 11. SOME CONCLUSIONS

There is little doubt that Greater Media underwent a process of Iranisation during the Neo-Assyrian period. The Iranians were the largest group (maximum 45.37 — minimum 32.36%) in Greater Media. All the other discernible ethno-linguistic groups (non-Iranians; for the problem of ascription to 'Lullubian' see above, 0) are far behind. Next come the Kassites (7.72–5.31%) and the Hurro-Urartians (6.74–0.96%). The Iranians were the largest group in all of the seven Median regions (1–7). Only in Kurdistan (excluding Zamua) were the Hurro-Urartians (with various degrees of

plausibility) the largest group (22.21–7.4%). Elsewhere the Kassites were the second-largest group ('Inner' and Western Media: 18.18–15.15% and 12.24–6.12% respectively; Northwestern Media and Parsua: 6.66% and 6.88–3.44% respectively). Only in Mannea and its environs, which were on the Urartian border, were the Hurro-Urartians the second-largest group (14.8–3.7% compared with 3.7% Kassites). The ethnic characterisation of Mannea naturally refers only to its ruling class, as very few commoners' names are mentioned in the sources. The evidence for the ethno-linguistic character of the Mannaeans (843–c. 600 B.C.) was conveniently summarised by Boehmer 1964. His conclusions were generally accepted (cf. Kashkai 1977, esp. chap. 2). Boehmer is of the opinion that the Mannaeans were a Hurrian group with a slight Kassite admixture (cf. Kashkai 1977, 39f. with lit.). It is unlikely that there was any ethno-linguistic unity in Mannea. Like other peoples of the Iranian plateau the Mannaeans were subjected to an ever increasing Iranian (i.e. Indo-European) penetration. Boehmer's analysis of several anthroponyms and toponyms needs modification and augmentation. Melikšvili (1949, 60) tried to confine the Iranian presence in Mannea to its periphery, pointing out that both Daiukku and Bagdatti were active in the periphery of Mannea, but this is imprecise in view of the fact that the names of two early Mannean rulers, viz. Udaki and Azā, are explicable in Old Iranian terms. The absurdity of the pan-Turkic approach of Yusifov (1986, *passim*) to the ancient toponymy of Azerbaijan is self-evident. The northwesternmost expansion of Old Iranian anthroponymy reached Musasir and Hubuškia. The statements of Levine 1972–75d and Salvini 1982, 386b, namely that the names of the Hubuškia rulers are probably Hurrian, should be corrected: one is Iranian, two are atypical, and one is Kassite. The latter is actually a title, which was common among Kassites, but Diakonoff (1985a, 61) was of the opinion that it might have been originally a Qutian title. Liverani (1992, 139) points out that Hurrian anthroponyms seem to be confined to Urartu and its immediate vicinity.<sup>41</sup> This includes Kummē, a region where there is good reason for thinking that dialects related to Hurro-Urartian were spoken.

The relationship between the anthroponymy and the toponymy of each region is not without interest. The Iranian toponymy prevails in Eastern Media (54.54–27.27%), 'Inner' Media (32.28–12%), Western Media (18.74–14.58%) and Parsua (10.41–4.16%). It

has the same percentage as the Kassite toponymy in Gizilbipunda and environs (16–4%). The Hurro-Urartian toponymy prevails in Mannea and Northwestern Media (10.95–2.43% and 22.63–3.77% respectively) which bordered on Urartu. In both regions the Iranian toponymy is the second-largest group (9.72–1.21% and 7.54–5.66% respectively; Kassite toponymy has 7.29–3.65% and 5.65–0% respectively), whereas in the regions with dominant Iranian toponymy Kassite is almost everywhere the second-largest group (Parsua: 4.16–2.08%; 'Inner' Media 12–4% and Western Media 11.46–7.29%). The Zamuan toponymy has limited Kassite and Hurro-Urartian (cf. MA *An-da-ri-a*, 8.12 above) components (5.95–2.38% and 3.57% respectively). Iranian is the second-largest group (4.76–2.38%). On the whole there is a fairly high degree of accord between the toponymy and the anthroponymy of most regions. There is a certain persistence of pre-first millennium toponyms (8–4.23%). In addition, there is a remarkable representation of toponyms which seem to be intrinsic to the region under discussion (such as *kingi*, *ka'ind*, *ka'ire*, *-aüd*). There is some reason to suspect that they are residues of pre-(Indo)Iranian dialects. As expected, the pre-Iranian substratum is better represented in the toponymy than in the anthroponymy. No less than 16.55% of the toponyms are linguistically unaffiliated, but have parallels mainly in neighbouring regions, including Hurro-Urartian ones. The low percentage of Akkadian anthroponyms and toponyms accords well with the Babylonian influence, which was already a thing of the past (especially discernible in Southwest Media, notably Bit-Hamban, cf. Tadmor 1994, 72f. ad Ann. 15, 11f.). At least one anthroponym (1.122, 1) is probably due to Assyrian influence or upbringing (as a prominent hostage in the Assyrian court?).

Most of the 25 regions, whose names begin with *Bit* or *Bit*, are located in southwestern Media (7.102; 7.151; 7.152 and perhaps 7.155), the upper Diyala basin (7.11b, 7.3), near the Great Khorasan Road (7.47; 7.48; 7.5.1.1, 7; 7.5.4.1.1, 2; 7.5.4.2; 7.5.4.3 and possibly 7.4.4), the central Zagros and its piedmont (8.10, 1, 3). Several regions, whose names begin with *Bit*- are to be sought in the section of 'Inner' Media which is not too far from the Great Khorasan Road (4.7; 4.9.2; 4.11 and presumably 5.5.3; 6.4, 1, 2; 6.5; *Bit-jābri*, being a generic term, does not belong here). Such toponyms are not encountered in Mannea and its environs (3.3 is generally written just *Sangiburi*). Most of these regions are located in a basically Kassite territory, and the element *Bit*- may

continue the Middle Babylonian practice of naming regions after Kassite and other tribes, notably *Bit-Hamban*. This practice was later applied also to the territories of the ever-expanding Iranian tribes.

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviations not in von Soden 1965–81 and E. Reiner *et al.* (eds.), 1999, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, Chicago*, BaM = Bagdadische Mitteilungen, BNF = Beiträge zur Namenforschung, KZ = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, PNA 1 = Radner, K., Parpola, S., and Whiting, R.M. 1998 (eds.), *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1: 'A-G', Helsinki; RECA = *Pauly's Realencyklopädie der classischen Altertümer*, Stuttgart 1894–Gent = gentile.

I should like to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to quote from unpublished B.M. tablets. My colleague, Dr. R. Rockaway, kindly consented to improve my English style. All the cuneiform transcriptions are NA unless otherwise indicated. Sonant *r* is rendered as *r*.

Modern Persian and Kurdish toponyms are not given in a phonetic transcription, except for a few cases, where their own etymology is discussed. For a detailed discussion of the NA rules of rendering Old Iranian names see Grantovskiy 1970, 67ff. The sections on geography and prosopography below are arranged in chronological order wherever applicable.

<sup>2</sup> For the latter cf. von Soden 1965–81, 75a and for the former n. 10 below.

<sup>3</sup> One can add MA *Errupi* (see Gelb in Gelb *et al.* 1943, 219). Is *Sa-tar-ba-pa-ma* (below, 6.1.3.2, 1) < OIran. \**šātra-pāma* (Schellertowicz 1905, 275; cf. Grantovskiy 1970, 68, 71, 74, 209, 316, 323f.; Zadok 1976c, 388) originally a title as well? Diakonoff 1991, 15: 'lords of townships' (–Iran. *vispāri*, *dahyupāri* and on the same line of reasoning LB *šā-ma-ra-na-pa-ta* < \**šāzama-pati*, cf. Ebeling 1949, 44 ad 73, 22).

<sup>4</sup> Is *Qu-ta-ta* (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 304) based on *Qut*-like Akkad. *Qut-tam*, in which it would be a reminiscence of the Qutians? *Qu-ta* of Tiglath-pileser III is just a homonym of *Quta* at the foot of Mt. Nipur (not identical with it as understood by Astour 1987, 23, n. 141).

<sup>5</sup> For instance, Diakonoff 1956a (138, n. 4) tentatively ascribed a certain toponymic element to Lullubian, Qutian or 'Mihraean'.

<sup>6</sup> *Bit*- anthroponym (in addition to Barmā: *-Ramstua*, *-Bagaia*, *-Kilanzab*, *-Kubani* and possibly *-Uargi*, *Mitti*, *-Barbari* (+ divine name only *-Istar*).

<sup>7</sup> *Bit*- + Kassite: 4.7; 7.11b; 7.4.4; 8.10, 1, 3; *Bit*- + Old Iranian: 4.9.2; 6.4, 1, 2; 7.3; 7.4.7; 7.5.1.1, 7; 7.5.4.1.1, 2; 7.5.4.2;



The very general and rather impressionistic description of the speech of the inhabitants of Sipimena is no proof that they spoke Median (*pace* Billerbeck 1898, 34 with n. 1). At best one may surmise that their dialect differed from that of their neighbours.

For the name of the goddess <sup>d</sup>*Ba-ag-bar-tu*, spouse of <sup>d</sup>*Hal-di-a*, see Schmitt 1980, 191.

The statement of Levine (1977b, 179, n. 8) that "the last time that Mannea is mentioned prior to Tiglath-pileser III is 807 B.C." is to be corrected accordingly.

\*B-Pu-bi-pu-zu, <sup>urru</sup>Hu-wu-du-ur, <sup>urru</sup>A+A-le-e, <sup>urru</sup>Ši-ni-iš-pa-la-a, <sup>urru</sup>Ši-ni-i-nak, cf. <sup>urru</sup>Ar-de/di-i-nak in Aiadi (ardi poss. Urart. arde 'city' + *unak*, cf. <sup>urru</sup>Ši-ni-i-nak with <sup>urru</sup>Ši-ni-iš-pa-la-a which precedes it!), for ardi- cf. <sup>urru</sup>Šar-i-ar-di-i (Thureau-Dangin 1912, 282ff.), <sup>urru</sup>Ar-na, <sup>urru</sup>Šar-sa-ni-i (to Hur. *šamī* cf. Richter 1998, 133 and 6.10 = below 2).

A possibility that Missi is a NA form with *st* > *ss* does not seem impossible: another example of this shift on Iranian soil seems to be *Marubišti* > *Mu-ru-i-bi-si* (see below, 7.10.1.1, 1).

But not in the main text where "Mešta (Messi...)" is retained.

This Zamuan town is listed together with the Mannean region in Parpola 1970, 246f.; the spellings referring to the Mannean region should be transferred to the lemma Missi on 248.

Another example of *d/z* interchange in the toponymy of the region of Lake Urmia is possibly <sup>100</sup>*Zar-an-zi-i-na* (856 B.C.) and <sup>100</sup>*Dar-iz-zu-na* in Aiadi (714 B.C.), which may refer to one and the same place according to Salvini 1982, 387 (cf. Liebig 1991, 32; linguistic affiliation unknown). The latter form does not look like a variant of the former (the difference may be due to the considerable chronological gap). A quasi-homonym of <sup>100</sup>*Zar-an-zi-i-na* (with the same interchange) may be <sup>100</sup>*Dar-an-zi-an* much more to the south (Tadmor 1994, 76; Ann. 5, 5). Eilers (1976, 227, n. 3) compared *d/z* of DZurzakka to the same interchange in Kassite names (cf. already Streck 1900, 331 with n. 1; Scheftelowitz 1905, 276).

<sup>25</sup> Urart. *Šatiraraya* is not identical with Ur III *Še-ti-ir-ša<sup>ti</sup>* (pace Astour 1987, 34).

<sup>26</sup> *Arwa* (practically a homonym of *Arwa*) is a primary toponym (Fadhil 1983, 58b; cf. Fincke 1993, 55; MB Nuzi). *Arwa* is not necessarily Hurrian also in view of the very early occurrence of the homonymous anthroponym *Ar-wa* at Tall Bédar (Ismail *et al.* 1996, 187c, index, s.v.) where no Hurrian names are recorded (dated before their penetration into the Jezireh).

<sup>27</sup> For a seemingly homonymous Akkadian word cf. von Soden 1965–81, 247a. *Za-an-za-ru-ru* (Johns 1901a, 782, 11) is apparently based on the same form.

<sup>28</sup> There are several homonymous places, e.g. *Kundur* near Qom at 34-35 50-19 and near Qazvin. For ancient

homonyms cf. Vallat 1993, 145, s.v. *Kunturruš* (cf. also *Kunturruk(k)an*, 144f. and modern *Kundurān* in Fars, which have the same base).

<sup>29</sup> Is *Ka-ma-zi* from there a late form of the toponym Hamazi (presumably with *k-* for earlier *h-* like *Na Kumuuru* for *Humuru*, 1.8 above)? *Ka-ma-zi* is classified as an anthroponym by Eidem (1992, 94a *ad* 124, 10), but it can be interpreted as a toponym in view of the structure of the list ("one *Kamazi*-garment" like other garments defined by GN in line 8f.) and the fact that the only clear anthroponym according to the context (line 6) is preceded by a *Personenkeil*.

<sup>30</sup> Simaški may be the forerunner of Šemaiš (below, 7.15.6).

<sup>31</sup> "Is he Tuni of Sumurza in Ann. 12:4?" — Tadmor's question mark is in place here, as both forms are definitely different.

MA <sup>(10p)</sup>*Ar-ru-hu-un-du* (Grayson 1991, 21: Tigl. A.08.7.12, 9'), which was perhaps in Habshi (see Nashef 1982, 39) and is tentatively etymologised as Old Assyrian *\*Harac-ant-* 'mit See(n)?' (see Eilers 1988, 2) is too early and isolated in such a westerly territory. In addition, the correspondence MA *<ár-ru- >* for *\*/har-/\** is inadequate. Therefore it cannot represent a pre-Median toponym.

<sup>33</sup> *A-ku-da-A+A*, the name of the herald (*nāgīru*) of Kirbā (Borger 1996, 181, 38), may originally be a gentilic of *Akkuddu*.

<sup>34</sup> The possibility that the Assyrian scribe intentionally employed this spelling in order to distinguish between two homonymous successive individuals at the cost of an inaccurate rendering is unlikely.

35 *Ur-ru-da*, which is mentioned in line 11 of the same document, was compared by me (Zadok 1979a, 299:32) with *Ur-ru-da-a'* Ὀρωδῆς, Ὀρωδῆς. These forms are not derived from \**Hu-rauda*- (Justi 1895, 133, cf. Bartholomae 1904, 1836f.) in view of *Ward* (see Henning 1952, 178, A. 3). An Iranian etymology for *Tu-ni-i* (Zadok 1979a, 299:29) seems less likely.

<sup>36</sup> Capraro and Parpola 1998a regard *Bu(r)nakki* and *B/Pu-na-ak-ka* (without elaboration) as Elamite, but the names are rather Kassite. The same applies to *Bur-mu-ka-A+.* (Capraro and Parpola 1998b).

<sup>37</sup> This segmentation, as well as a Babylonian interpretation of *-bištu*, is possible if one assumes that in writing the variant *-bi-si-* the Assyrian scribes understood the *-š-* as primary (not as an original *-rt-*).

<sup>38</sup> A connexion between this river and the settlement *B/Pu-e*<sup>(b)</sup>, which is recorded at OB Šušānā (Eidem 1992, 88a with refs.), cannot be established.

<sup>39</sup> For a list of toponyms with *-nd-* see Eilers 1954, 280f. (many pre-Iranian ones).

<sup>40</sup> *Ul-ka-a* (cf. Zadok 1997d, 213, n. 5) is not included here as there is no ample proof that he actually lived in Assyria proper.

A certain degree of continuity and preservation of the Hurrian onomastic tradition is discernible especially at the beginning of the Iron Age, e.g.: Sa-di-te-šup s. of Ha-at-tu-ku (king of Ur-ti-na-i-ia) in Panaru, Grayson 1991, 15; Tigi-l A.O.R.71, ii, 44), mentioned after Ki-li-te-šup s. of Ka-lu-šup; Hu-te-šup/šu-pu king of Subria (Lanfranchi and Pappalardo 1990, 244a with refs.); Ik-te-šup king of Subria (Borger 1956, 86; ASBE 6), [...]-x-gi-te-šup (from Subria, Borger 1956, 105; Gbr. II, ii, 22). Does *Sa-du-ka* [cx] (the *oxxi*) of Lili-ti?, Pappalardo 1987, 48, 2, f. 7) begin with the Hurrian theophoric element *Sa-du-ka*? Several late MA toponyms referring to places in the southern Armenian plateau are homonymous with anthroponyms from Mari and late OB Tukyanai (cf., e.g., Zadok 2000b, B, 2, 5, 6). Furthermore, most of the Urtarians' names (cf., e.g., Lanfranchi and Pappalardo 1990, s.vv: *Mu-sa-nu*, *No-ra-ga-ri*, *Sa-ku-a-ti-ri*, *Si-pi-i-ja*, *Su-i-ka-a*, *Su-na-a*, *Ti-u-ia*, *Ti-u-A-ka*, *Ti-ri*, *Ti-ur-u-ba-nu*) have no clear parallels in the very rich Hurrian onomasticon of the third and second millennia B.C.

<sup>42</sup> Leaving out the four toponyms with *Bū-* which refer to settlements (7.1.1. 2–4, 8, all in *Bū-Hamban*).

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